Continuity, Discontinuity and Change

Perspectives from the New Kingdom to the Roman Era

Filip Coppens (ed.)

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The Memphite Necropolis through the Amarna Period

A Study of Private Patronage, Transmission of Iconographic Motifs, and Scene Details

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ABSTRACT

By exploring the patronage system that commissioned the private tomb structures in the Memphite New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara, this study aims to gain a better understanding of the relationship between the commissioning patrons and the artists who were employed to construct and decorate monumental elite tombs. The hundreds of tombs that once dotted the Memphite New Kingdom necropolis are now largely lost. Early 19th century explorers of the site removed large quantities of inscribed and decorated elements from the funerary structures. These items are today housed in countless museum collections around the world. This has led to a paradoxical situation where the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis exists mainly outside ancient Memphis. Archaeological excavations in the last few decades have contributed significantly to a growing knowledge of the site, which allows us to increasingly study the tombs and their iconographic programmes in spatial context, and to study the landscape development through time. This study looks into the continuity, discontinuity and change in the iconographic programmes of a select number of late Eighteenth Dynasty tombs through the Amarna period by focusing on specific iconographic motifs and scene details, and by tracing their transmission through time and space. The Saqqara necropolis will be taken out of isolation, to be viewed in relation to two of the kingdom's major contemporary necropolis sites, at Amarna and Thebes.

I. MEMPHIS AND ITS NECROPOLIS AT SAQQARA

I.1 THE NECROPOLIS AS A COMPONENT OF THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

In their tomb inscriptions, the ancient inhabitants of Memphis commonly referred to the city's desert-edge necropolis as *ḥr imn.tt Mn-nfr*, "on the west of Memphis" – a designation that sets the urban context of the cemetery in focus. In this manner, the toponym emphasises that

the site was viewed as a component of the *lived* urban environment.[1] The living inhabitants of Memphis shaped the necropolis over many generations, and so the life histories of both the city and its necropolis were closely intertwined. Indeed, the development of any necropolis – not just at Saqqara – was site-specific and its "life" cannot be seen detached from its unique urban environment. The necropolis at Saqqara was bound up with the ebbs and flows of the city of Memphis. Whatever happened to or at the city, whether it was its growing or diminishing (inter-)national prominence, times of wealth alternated with times of poverty, it effected its cemeteries one way or another. In this respect, the Amarna period offers an exceptionally interesting case to study the effects of the city's fates and fortunes on its cemeteries. It is to be expected that this period, albeit relatively short-lived, left its marks on the city of Memphis and, in extension thereof, on its necropolis. To set the scene, we know that the old city of Memphis temporarily "lost" its status as a royal residence and administrative capital in favour of Akhetaten (at present-day Tell el-Amarna), the new capital built by king Akhenaten in Middle Egypt. Along with the king, an unknown number of court officials plus their extended households (that is, family and network of dependents) moved southward, too.[2] Only a select number of the court officials resident at Amarna had started construction of their tombs in the rock formations due east of that city.[3] We know that a handful of the select few had previously started construction and decoration of a "house of eternity" (*ḥw.t n.t nḥḥ*, a commonly attested designation of the tomb) in the Memphite necropolis. Their moving southward thus affected not just the city of Memphis, but also the city's necropolis, in the sense of them not (further) utilising the local burial grounds to construct funerary monuments and therefore not contributing to further (re-)shaping the landscape.[4] The fact that at Amarna a complete city was created "from scratch", starting in year 5 of Akhenaten, meant that a workforce of builders, workmen, craftsmen, and artisans had to be relocated from elsewhere. The question is: whence did they come from? It is well known from text sources that ancient Egyptian craftsmen and artists were notably mobile, and that they were customarily commissioned by the king to work in various locations throughout the kingdom.[5] Effectively, they were sent

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1   Compare to the situation at Amarna: A. Stevens, "Death and the City: The Cemeteries of Amarna in Their Urban Context", in: CAJ 28/1, 2018, 103–126.

2   B. J. Kemp, The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Amarna and Its People, London 2012, 163–168; B. J. Kemp, Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization, London 2006, 315–316, suggests that for many of the incoming inhabitants of Amarna, their previous place of residence was indeed Memphis.

3   J. Arp-Neumann, "Amarna: Private and Royal Tombs", in: W. Wendrich (ed.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, Los Angeles 2020, 5, points out that a minimum number of 45 planned private monumental (rock-cut) tombs at Amarna correlates with the 130 to 240 higher-ranking officials that are estimated to have resided at the city (Kemp, Anatomy of a Civilization, 314).

4   Note that when no further human activities take place at the necropolis, natural site formation processes continue to shape and reshape the landscape. Think, for example, of the sanding up of structures, wind and water erosion, etc. Thus even with no human agents at work, the transformation of the landscape is an ever-ongoing process. Such transformations that are the result of a lack of human interventions can also have an effect on the later use or perception of certain parts of the necropolis.

5   As exemplified by the case of Hatiay, see section III, below. See also D. Laboury, "Le scribe et le peintre: À propos d'un scribe qui ne voulait pas être pris pour un peintre", in: P. Collombert/ D. Lefèvre/S. Polis/J. Winand (eds.), Aere perennius. Mélanges égyptologiques en l'honneur de Pascal Vernus, OLA 242, Leuven 2016, 377–378.

to wherever their work was needed in royal projects such as construction works on temples built for gods or kings.[6] Part of the (skilled) workforce required at Amarna (which largely remains anonymous to us, however) may have come down from Memphis. Immediately following the Amarna period (marked by the death of Akhenaten), a movement in the opposite direction is noted because early in his reign, king Tutankhamun returned back to Memphis.[7] It is unlikely that he was the only former resident of Amarna to have done so. Indeed, work on previously halted tomb construction works at Saqqara resumed, as is neatly exemplified by the life history of the tomb of Meryneith alias Meryre, a senior temple official whom we will meet further below.

I.2   A LANDSCAPE OF THE LIVING AND THE DEAD

The necropolis in Ancient Egypt was constructed and experienced as a space inhabited both by the living and the dead.[8] Thus the necropolis at Saqqara was populated by the living (for example priests carrying out the cults of the dead, workmen and artists making new tombs or embellishing old ones, people visiting family sepulchres), spirits of deceased humans – referred to locally as the "blessed souls of the western Ankh-tawy"[9] – and deities.[10] Deified kings from the remote past were revered in their pyramid temples, and the cults of the living and more recently deceased kings of the New Kingdom (ca. 1539–1078 BC) were centred at their temples of Millions of Years. The latter were the Memphite counterparts of the (today) better-known Theban institutions. The Memphite temples of the kings are exclusively known to us from text sources; not a single such temple of Millions of Years has been recovered archaeologically. It is hypothesised that these were located at the west end of the floodplain, close to the foot of the escarpment, which corresponds to a location nearby the private cemetery south of the Unas causeway at Saqqara.[11] The presence of the temples in this location likely

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6   For an archaeological perspective centred on settlements, see N. MOELLER, The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt. From the Predynastic Period to the End of the Middle Kingdom, Cambridge 2016, 378. Regarding "town planning", Moeller points to the profound interest of the central government (i.e. the king and his court) in "settling communities in places where they would serve the overall aims of the state". Such happened for example in relation to royal building projects.

7   Following J. VAN DIJK, "The Development of the Memphite Necropolis in the Post-Amarna Period", in: A.-P. ZIVIE (ed.), Memphis et ses necropoles au Nouvel Empire: Nouvelles données, nouvelles questions. Actes du Colloque International CNRS, Paris, 9 au 11 octobre 1986, Paris 1988, 37–38.

8   This observation is core to the Walking Dead research project hosted at Leiden University, see: L. WEISS, The *Walking Dead* at Saqqara: The Making of a Cultural Geography, Mythos 13, 2019, 1–20, http://journals.openedition.org/mythos/1440.

9   Designated as such in the graffito of the scribe Hednakhte, written in the South Chapel of the pyramid complex of Djoser (Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II, year 47): H. NAVRÁTILOVÁ, Visitors' Graffiti of Dynasties 18 and 19 in Abusir and Northern Saqqara: With a Survey of the Graffiti at Giza, Southern Saqqara, Dahshur and Maidum, Wallasey 2015, 108–111, 170–173 (M.2. 3. P. 19.3).

10   This is precisely how the ancient Egyptians conceptualised the created world overall; see: R. LUCARELLI, "Demons (Benevolent and Malevolent)", in: J. DIELEMAN/W. WENDRICH (eds.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, Los Angeles 2010. Accessed on 23. 01. 2021. http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025fks3.

11   For the hypothesised location of these structures, see N. STARING, "From Landscape Biography to the Social Dimension of Burial. A View from Memphis, c. 1539–1078 BCE", in: N. STARING/H. TWIS-

influenced the private tomb building activities at the desert-edge cemetery nearby.[12] This would have applied in particular to the tombs built for individuals that had been professionally associated with these institutions in life. A range of such officials built their tombs in the Unas South Cemetery.[13] This goes to show that choices underlying the placing of tombs in the landscape – and ultimately the clustering of tombs also – was tied to built features in the landscape at large. Tombs cannot be seen as isolated from their wider environmental setting, even though we are, archaeologically speaking, so ill-informed of that setting.

I.3   TOMB SUPERSTRUCTURES: (RELIGIOUS) IDENTITY IN TANGIBLE FORM

In the New Kingdom, the superstructures of private tombs – all greatly varying in size and complexity, ranging from modest chapels to conspicuous temple-shaped monuments (variably referred to as "temple-tombs"),[14] were conceived as private mortuary temples. The private tombs adopted the architectural design and layout of the temples built for gods and kings. In their private temples, the tomb owners enjoyed the proximity to the gods, most notably the sun-god Re(-Horakhty/Atum) and Osiris; the tomb offered to them a place where they could worship the gods in perpetuity.[15] The tomb superstructures were generally (and ideally) oriented along an east–west axis, the entrance being in the east and the cult chapel (the architectural unit containing the tomb stela) being in the west. The alignment reckoned with the course of the sun, the east being associated with Re-Horakhty, the rising sun, and the west associated with Re-Atum, the setting sun. The west was also associated with Osiris, king of the Netherworld, and from the late Eighteenth Dynasty onward, the gods Re and Osiris were venerated alongside each other as Re-Osiris.

TON DAVIES/L. WEISS (eds.), Perspectives on Lived Religion. Practices – Transmission – Landscape, PALMA 21, Leiden 2019, 213–218.

12   Similar patterns have been observed in Thebes and Abydos: A. JIMÉNEZ-HIGUERAS, The Sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga during the New Kingdom. People Making Landscape Making People, CHANE 113, Leiden 2020; K. M. CAHAIL, In the Shadow of Osiris: Non-Royal Mortuary Landscapes at South Abydos during the Late Middle and New Kingdoms, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 2014.

13   N. STARING, "The Personnel of the Theban Ramesseum in the Memphite Necropolis", in: JEOL 45, 2014–2015, 51–92 (esp. pp. 82–83).

14   A term first introduced by VAN DIJK, in ZIVIE (ed.), Memphis et ses necropoles, 42–45. While the freestanding superstructures shaped as temples are characteristic of the Memphite elite tomb of choice, the architectural layout can also be observed at other sites in Egypt, including Thebes (e.g. U. RUMMEL, "Redefining Sacred Space: The Tomb-Temples of the High Priests Ramsesnakht and Amenhotep in Dra' Abu el-Naga", in: F. COPPENS/H. VYMAZOLOVÁ (eds.), 11. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: The Discourse Between Tomb and Temple, Prague, May 24–27, 2017, KSGH 3/6, Wiesbaden 2020, 279–305).

15   On the role of Re and Osiris in the Memphite funerary context (focusing on tomb texts, "hymns", and decoration, e.g. on stelae), see e.g. J. VAN DIJK, "Hymnen aan Re en Osiris in Memphitische Graven van het Nieuwe Rijk", in: Phoenix 42/1, 1996, 3–22; L. WEISS, "I am Re and Osiris", in: V. VERSCHOOR/A. J. STUART/C. DEMARÉE (eds.), Imaging and Imagining the Memphite Necropolis. Liber Amicorum René van Walsem, EgUit 30, Leiden/Leuven 2017, 215–230. For an example of the god Horakhty-Atum mentioned in a hymn to the sun god, see the Saqqara tomb stela of Raia, son of Pay (Berlin ÄM 7270: M. J. RAVEN, The Tomb of Pay and Raia at Saqqara, EES EM 24, Leiden/London 2005, 24, scene [6], pls. 18 (right)–19.

Large tomb superstructures ideally comprised a pylon entrance in the east, a pillared courtyard with tomb shaft giving access to the subterranean burial chamber(s), and three cult chapels in the west, often referred to in terms of the "standard free-standing Eighteenth Dynasty tombs in the Memphite New Kingdom necropolis".[16] Standard tombs do not exist, however, because the excavated data demonstrate a much greater variety in size, complexity, and architectural layout. The smallest superstructures were platforms made of a mix of limestone chunks and mud bricks, measuring less than a metre in height, and supporting a roughly-shaped headstone.[17] On the other end of the spectrum, the largest tomb, built for the General-in-Chief, Horemheb (who later became king), measures an astounding 65 m in length. Rock-cut tombs were also made at this time, but these were not nearly as popular at Memphis as they were at Akhetaten and Thebes – which is of course in part due to the very different landscape setting. The Memphite rock-cut tombs, sometimes provided with a built superstructure – varying from a simple porch to a more substantial courtyard in front of the rock-face entrance – display, in general, a comparable layout as their freestanding counterparts.[18]

I.4   NOTES ON THE ORGANISATION OF PRIVATE TOMB MAKING

Ancient Egypt's iconic funerary monuments continue to speak to the imagination of the wider public. To scholars, moreover, the monuments (covered in images and texts) constitute key sources of information on a wide range of aspects of pharaonic society – and this applies in particular to the non-royal tomb structures dated to the New Kingdom. The rich decoration programmes of tombs such as those built in the Memphite necropolis at Saqqara offer unique glimpses into everyday life and afterlife beliefs. Yet despite their great research potential, basic questions regarding the tombs' *very existence* – such as "Who were the craftsmen (builders, workers, artisans) responsible for construction and decoration, and what was the nature of their relationship to the tomb owners" – have hardly been addressed before.[19] Thus a major gap

16   So in H. D. SCHNEIDER, The Tomb of Iniuia in the New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis at Saqqara, PALMA 8, Turnhout 2012, 31. The architectural layout is certainly not exclusively associated with the Memphite necropolis. Similar types of tombs can be found as far south as Nubia, in cemeteries associated with Egyptian settlements. See e.g. K. SPENCE, "New Kingdom Tombs in Lower and Upper Nubia", in: D. RAUE (ed.), Handbook of Ancient Nubia 1, Berlin 2019, 541–565; J. BUDKA, "Pyramid Cemetery SAC5, Sai Island, Northern Sudan. An Update Based on Fieldwork from 2015–2017", in: Ä & L 27, 2017, 107–130.

17   M. J. RAVEN/V. VERSCHOOR/M. VUGTS/R. VAN WALSEM, The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb Commander in Chief of Tutankhamun, V: The Forecourt and the Area South of the Tomb with Some Notes on the Tomb of Tia, PALMA 6, Turnhout 2011, 39: burial 99/4B with structure 99/7, and burial 99/5 with structure 99/8.

18   The same is also true for the Theban rock-cut tombs, see e.g. B. OCKINGA, "Macquarie Theban Tombs Project TT 148 the Tomb of Amenemope. Report on the 1994/1995 and 1995/1996 Seasons", in: BACE 7, 1996, 67–69, comparing the above-ground tomb-chapel architecture of Theban tombs to the Memphite freestanding superstructures of the New Kingdom.

19   An obvious reason for this is the lack of substantial archaeological, artistic, or textual sources on the topic. Some of the pertinent issues were also addressed at an international expert workshop held at the University of Copenhagen in 2017. The proceedings will be published as: F. HAGEN/D. SOLIMAN/R. OLSEN (eds.), Tomb Construction in New Kingdom Egypt, Cambridge in press. On the results of collaboration between patrons and artists, i.e. the art itself, see e.g. T. BÁCS, "Tombs

in our knowledge pertaining to the Memphite New Kingdom necropolis relates to the interplay between the commissioning patrons (the tomb owners) and the makers of their monuments.

Another major gap in our knowledge relates to the modes of image transmission at the tombs.[20] While particular motifs and/or iconographic details can be observed in multiple tombs within a single necropolis (and beyond) – sometimes clearly inspired by decoration in pre-existing monuments – no two structures within the dataset of several hundred are exactly the same. In their choice of tomb layout and decoration, the owners often made reference to already extant monuments,[21] while at the same time striving for individuality and competing with their peers.[22] Opting for unique representations – often related to the tomb owner's professional life – constituted one means of differentiating one's funerary monument from the mass of contemporary and earlier structures. The capacity to differentiate one's tomb decoration lay primarily with the main conceptual artist, the *sš ḳd(.w)* or "scribe of forms". He was the one who laid out the tomb's iconographic programme, and so he must have been a key player in the making of tombs.[23] Yet we still know very little about these artists in the context of the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis (both regarding individual identities and work processes) and about how they were contracted to work on private funerary projects.[24]

and Their Owners: Art and Identity in Late Ramesside Thebes", in: S. Kubisch/U. Rummel (eds.), The Ramesside Period in Egypt: Studies into Cultural and Historical Processes of the 19th and 20th Dynasties, SDAIK 41, Berlin 2018, 15–32; D. Laboury/A. Devillers, "The Ancient Egyptian Artist, a Non-existing Category?", in: K. Cooney/D. Candelora/N. Ben-Marzouk (eds.), (Re)Constructing Ancient Egyptian Society. Challenging Assumptions, Exploring Approaches, Oxfordshire forthcoming.

20   On this topic, see in particular D. Laboury, "Tradition and Creativity: Toward a Study of Inter-iconicity in Ancient Egyptian Art", in: T. Gillen (ed.), (Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th-8th February 2013, AegLeod 10, Liège 2017, 229–258.

21   For select case studies of the New Kingdom at Saqqara, see e.g. N. Staring, "The Tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis. Analysis of an Early 19th Dynasty Funerary Monument at Saqqara", in: BIFAO 114/2, 2014, 455–518 (with pp. 489–490 on inspiration from Old Kingdom art); M. J. Raven, "Copying of Motifs in the New Kingdom Tombs at Saqqara", in: V. Verschoor/A. J. Stuart/C. Demarée (eds.), Imaging and Imagining the Memphite Necropolis. Liber Amicorum René van Walsem, EgUit 30, Leiden/Leuven 2017, 81–94; N. Staring, "The Late Eighteenth Dynasty Tomb of Ry at Saqqara (Reign of Tutankhamun). Horemheb's Chief of Bowmen and Overseer of Horses Contextualised", in: RiME 4, 2020, 16–61.

22   See R. van Walsem, "(Auto-)"bioconographies" versus (Auto-)biographies in Old Kingdom Elite Tombs: Complexity Expansion of Image and Word Reflecting Personality Traits by Competitive Individuality", in: J. Stauder-Porchet/E. Frood/A. Stauder (eds.), Ancient Egyptian Biographies: Contexts, Forms, Functions, Atlanta 2020, 117–159.

23   The actors responsible for the making or laying-out of the decoration programmes in the private tombs would have been the painter, *sš ḳd(.w)*, "Scribe of Forms", and, in view of the predominantly relief-decorated tombs at Saqqara, the sculptor, *ṯꜣy-mḏꜣ.t*, "Chisel Holder". For a concise introduction to this subject, see: D. Laboury, "Designers and Makers of Ancient Egyptian Monumental Epigraphy", in: V. Davies/D. Laboury (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography, New York 2020, 85–101.

24   For the role of the patron in relation to Theban tomb paintings, see e.g. A. Den Doncker, "Identifying-copies in the Theban Necropolis. Tradition as Reception under the Influence of Self-fashioning Processes", in: T. Gillen (ed.), (Re-)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt. Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th-8th February 2013, AegLeod 10, Liège 2017, 333–370;

The large-scale private building projects in the Saqqara necropolis equalled (e.g. in size, complexity and quality of craftsmanship) the "state"-sponsored projects such as the tombs in the Valley of the Kings (at Thebes) and temples for the gods. It is well known that temples employed workers and that a community of highly specialised workmen housed at the village of Deir el-Medina (at Thebes) was dedicated to building royal tombs. We are less well informed about how private tomb-building projects were organised. The overall impression is that private commissioners of tombs did not draw from a pool of artists working for a free market,[25] and it is equally unlikely that a Deir el-Medina-like community facilitated the tomb builders at Saqqara.[26] As a hypothesis, we may presume that the skilled personnel engaged at private funerary construction works – foremost of whom the architect and main conceptual artist – also worked under the charge of the tomb owner in their professional life, for example being employed at the palace or at temples, the main employers (in both cases ultimately the king) of such skilled craftsmen.[27]

This chapter will not solve the problems signalled in the above paragraph. Instead, this chapter is intended to serve as an exploratory study that aims to confront these pertinent issues by focusing on the non-royal tomb structures built at Saqqara. Alexis Den Doncker, who studied the transmission of images in the contemporary Theban necropolis, argues that:

> "Whereas high officials faced socio-professional pressures that encouraged them to shape their own individuality within a commemorative tomb-chapel with texts and images, they appear to have adopted, in terms of reactions to images, various perspectives and attitudes towards their predecessors and contemporaries, as well as towards their institutional superiors. (…) from one tomb to another, we happen to note apparent copies of texts and/

A. G. Shedid, Stil der Grabmalereien in der Zeit Amenophis' II. untersucht anhand den Thebanischen Gräbern Nr. 104 und Nr. 80, AV 66, Mainz 1988, 64. For an assessment of the influence of the Old Kingdom tomb owner on the iconographic layout and design, technique, and style of the tomb, with a focus on the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, see G. Pieke, "'Eine Frage des Geschmacks': Anmerkungen zur Grabdekoration auf dem Teti-Friedhof in Saqqara", in: K. A. Kóthay (ed.), Art and Society: Ancient and Modern Contexts of Egyptian Art: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 13-15 May 2010, Budapest 2012, 123–138.

25 Cf. K. Cooney, "Profit or Exploitation? The Production of Private Ramesside Tombs within the West Theban Funerary Economy", in: JEH 1/1, 2008, 79–115; C. Eyre, "Work and the Organisation of Work in the New Kingdom", in: M. A. Powell (ed.), Labor in the Ancient Near East, New Haven 1987, 199.

26 For a preliminary assessment, see H. Navrátilová, "An Elusive Community: Traces of Necropolis Workmen in Memphis?", in: A. Dorn/S. Polis (eds.), Outside the Box: Selected Papers from the Conference "Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis in Contact", Liège, 27–29 October 2014, Liège 2018, 383–406. Similarly it is questionable whether (a) Deir el-Medina(-like community) facilitated the private commissioners of tombs at Thebes outside the village of tomb builders. See: D. Laboury, "On the Alleged Involvement of Deir el-Medina Crew in the making of Elite Tombs in the Theban Necropolis During the 18th Dynasty: A Reassessment", in: B. M. Bryan/P. F. Dorman (eds.), The Theban Workshop: Mural Decoration in the Theban New Kingdom Necropolis, SAOC, Chicago forthcoming.

27 E.g. M. Hartwig, Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419–1372 BCE, MonAeg 10, Turnhout 2004; Eyre, in Powell (ed.), Labor, 184–185 (citing the example of the organisation of the tombs of Senmut at Thebes, the official (Royal Steward) who was also in charge of construction works at the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri), and further 190–195, 196–199.

or images in connection with presumed models (from a motif to a whole scene or group of scenes). Whether these copies were commissioned by tomb owners, hypothetical patrons like overseers of work, or purposely executed by draughtsmen, often remains difficult to determine, since the copy (…) carries a certain muteness regarding intentionality."[28]

The practices highlighted in the above quote have hardly been addressed in connection with the Saqqara New Kingdom material, even though the ever-growing available contextual iconographic sources would allow such an assessment. For a long time, the relief-decorated blocks derived from Saqqara tombs were detached from their original tomb context, displayed at museum collections around the world. The last few decades enormous progress has been made, though archaeological exploration of the necropolis site, in furthering our understanding of the tomb iconography in context. These results allow for a more holistic approach to studying the making of tomb art and the (processes underlying) the transmission of iconographic motifs and scene details. We now know, for example, where a considerable number of the tombs were located, what their spatial relationship to other (earlier, contemporary and later) tombs were, how individual relief blocks fitted within larger iconographic programmes, and who the owners of the tombs were. By applying this holistic approach to analysing select scene details and iconographic motifs, this chapter aims to explore, on the one hand, the relationships between the tomb owners (i.e. the commissioning patrons) that share certain iconographic features (at the same necropolis and beyond), and on the other hand assess the transmission of certain iconographic motifs through the Amarna period. By centring the analysis on precisely this period – that is often described as a watershed – the study will also explore the extent to which these practices were subject to continuity, discontinuity and change.

II.   THE NORTH SAQQARA PLATEAU THROUGH THE LATE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY: A SYNOPSIS

II.1   OVERVIEW OF THE PRE-AMARNA EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY AT SAQQARA

The two main cemeteries identified on the North Saqqara plateau, the Unas South Cemetery and the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, contain the material traces of tombs dated to the New Kingdom before the Amarna period (Figure 1). Let us have a look at the idiosyncratic developments of these cemeteries through the New Kingdom.

TETI PYRAMID CEMETERY
The pre-Amarna tombs located in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery were, in general, built for officials of medium rank, and their burials are marked above ground with small chapels made of mud bricks (Figure 2). The inscribed and relief-decorated elements are mostly limited to stelae. In the reign of Amenhotep III, more elements are added to the built superstructures,

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28   Den Doncker, in Gillen (ed.), (Re-)productive Traditions, 334–335.
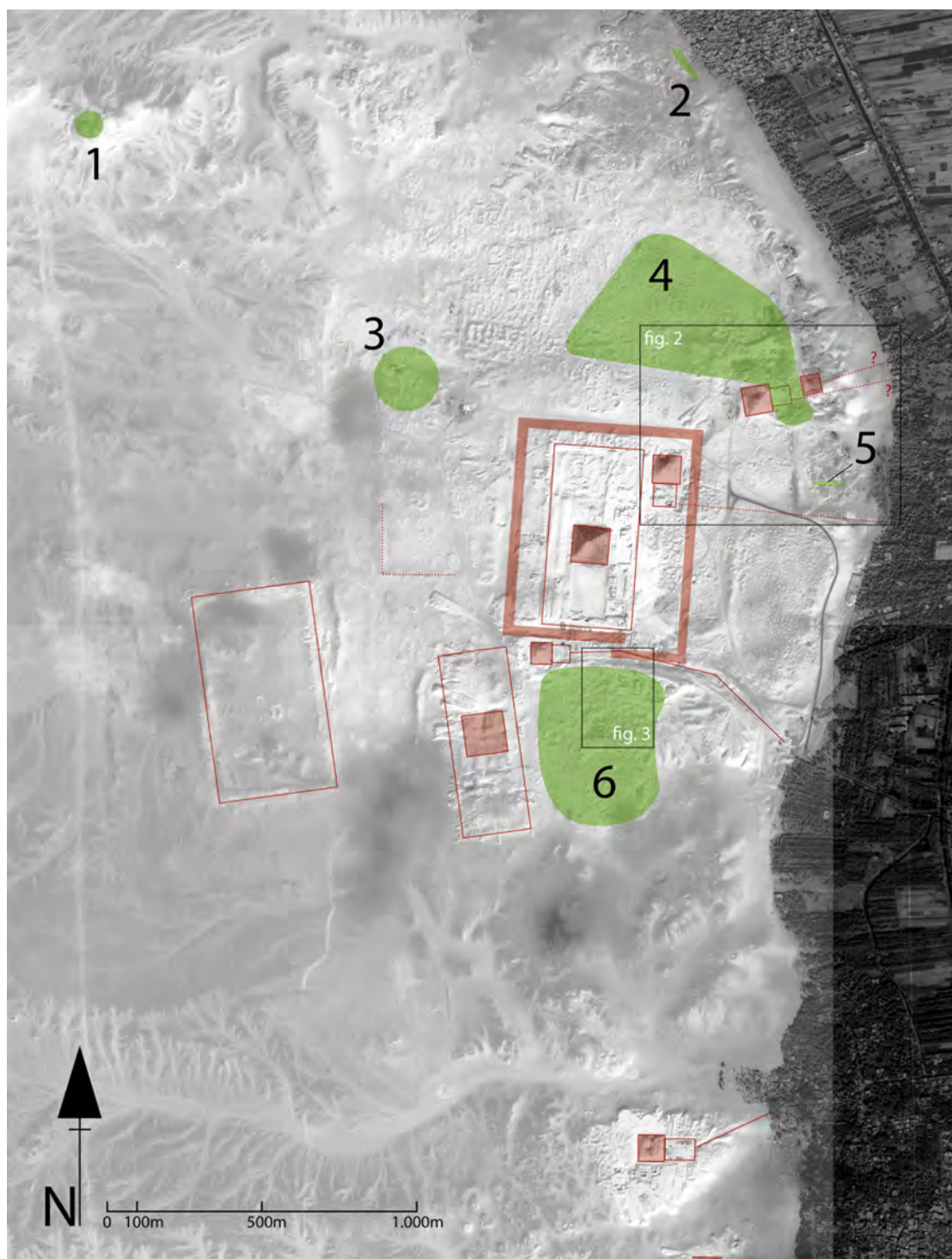
FIGURE 1 Satellite image (QuickBird, February 2003) of the North Saqqara plateau showing the areas containing substantial archaeological remains dated to the New Kingdom, including tomb clusters: 1. Rocky outcrop between Saqqara and Abusir; 2. Rock-cut tombs opposite Abusir village; 3. Serapeum; 4. Teti Pyramid Cemetery; 5. Bubasteion rock-cut tombs; 6. Unas South Cemetery (image after M. Bárta/ V. Brůna, Satellite Atlas of the Pyramids: Abu Ghurab, Abusir, Saqqara, Dahshur, Prague 2006, 55 (no. 2) and 57 (no. 3), digitally joined and adapted by the author. Satellite image reproduced with permission of the Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University, Prague).
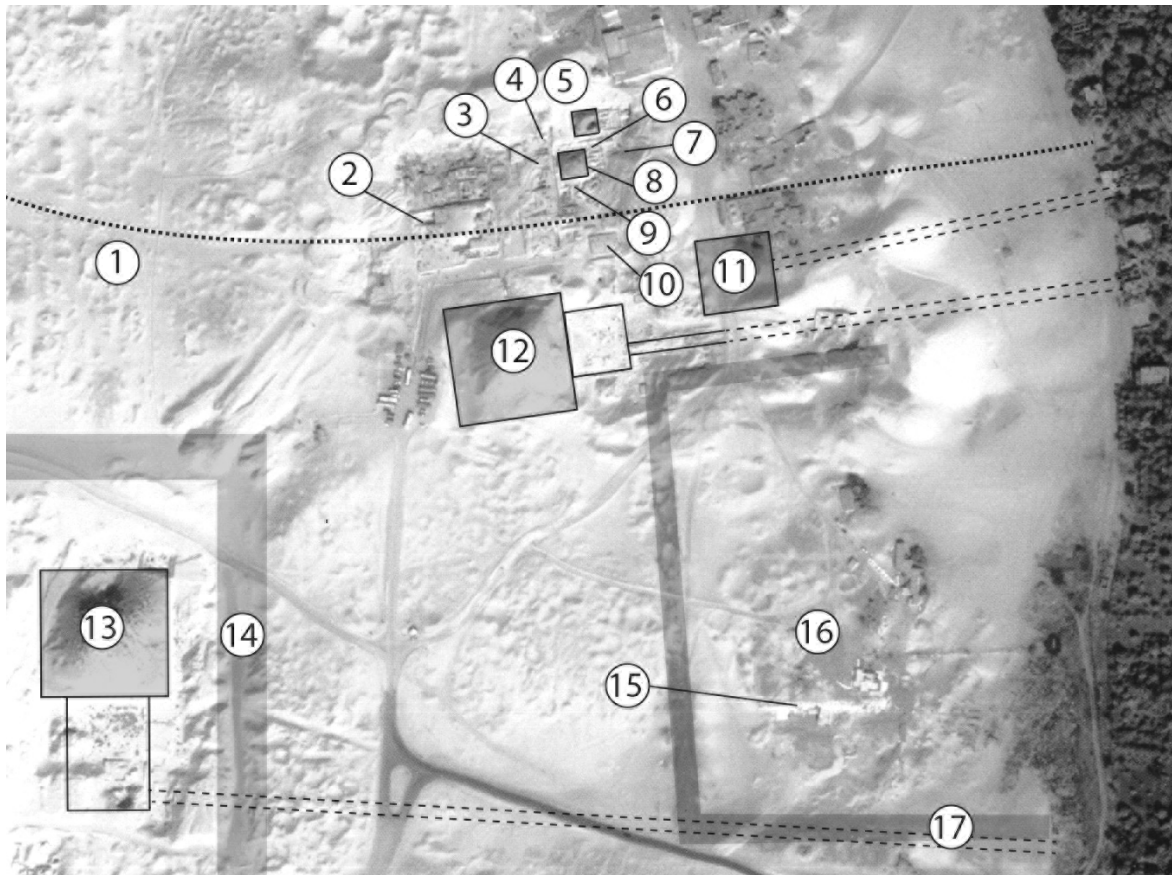
FIGURE 2   Satellite image (QuickBird, February 2003) of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, indicating the
(approximate) location of tombs and other structures mentioned in the text: 1. Greco-Roman Serapeum
Way; 2. Mastaba of Mereruka; 3. Mastaba of Neferseshemptah; 4. Tomb of Amenemone (Loret no. 2);
5. Pyramid of Iput; 6. Tomb of Mose (Loret no. 5); 7. Tomb of Hatiay, Chief of Makers of Lapis Lazuli;
8. Pyramid of Khuit; 9. Tomb of Huy; 10. Mastaba of Khentika; 11. Pyramid of Menkauhor; 12. Pyramid of
Teti; 13. Pyramid of Userkaf; 14. Dry Moat, Step Pyramid complex of Djoser; 15. Southern cliff of Ankhtawy,
New Kingdom rock-cut tombs; 16. "Peak of Ankhtawy"; 17. Bubasteion enclosure wall (image after
M. BÁRTA/V. BRŮNA, Satellite Atlas of the Pyramids: Abu Ghurab, Abusir, Saqqara, Dahshur, Prague 2006,
adapted by the author. Satellite image reproduced with permission of the Czech Institute of Egyptology,
Charles University, Prague)

including pyramidions, doorjambs, and revetment blocks bearing relief decoration.[29] The
tombs are small, consisting of a single-room chapel positioned west of the tomb shaft. In
some instances, the space east of the chapel is enclosed by a mud-brick wall, which turns the
area into a courtyard entered from the east. The titles held by the chapel owners show that
they were primarily affiliated with local Memphite institutions: the Memphite treasury, the
temple of Ptah, and the royal estate (Table 1, at the end of this contribution). Two of the most
commonly attested office titles identify the eventual tomb owners as "guardian" (*sꜣw.ty*) and
"scribe" (*sš*). The modest tomb chapels stood amid an extensive cemetery of pit graves. Little
archaeological evidence has survived of the graves' possible above-ground markers. Parallels

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29   For the pre-Amarna tombs in this part of the necropolis, see: B. GESSLER-LÖHR, "Pre-Amarna Tomb
      Chapels in the Teti Cemetery North at Saqqara", in: BACE 18, 2007, 65–108.

at other sites such as Amarna suggest that the graves were marked by cairns, for example.[30] The pit graves accommodated individuals from the lower strata of society.

During and immediately after the Amarna period, the Teti Pyramid Cemetery becomes increasingly "inhabited" by individuals engaged in "the arts". They include, among others, overseers (*im.y-r*) of craftsmen (*ḥmw.w*) and chiefs (*ḥr.y*) of goldworkers (*nby.w*). The officials were affiliated to workshops serving the crown (*nb t3.wy*) and the temples of Aten (*prʾItn, ḥw.t p3ʾItn*) and Ptah (*pr Ptḥ*).[31]

SOUTHERN CLIFF OF THE LATER BUBASTEION

The southern cliff of the Bubasteion started to accommodate rock-cut tombs at around the reign of Amenhotep III, or perhaps slightly earlier (Table 2).[32] In contrast with the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, the rock-cut tombs were made for senior palace officials and high-ranking state administrators, including the vizier of the north, Aper-El (Bub. I.1). The interior walls of the rock-cut tombs were provided with decoration, either relief-decorated blocks positioned against the unworked rock, carved directly from the living rock, or decoration and texts were painted on a layer of mud plaster.

Drawing together the (undeniably limited) archaeological evidence currently at our disposal leads us to suggest that the funerary landscape underwent changes in the reign of Amenhotep III. At around his reign, both freestanding chapels (Table 3) and rock-cut tombs (Table 4) start to appear in greater numbers (at least in the available sources to our disposal) in the northern part of the North Saqqara plateau. As a hypothesis, these patterns may be linked to the redevelopment of the Serapeum in the king's reign. The redevelopment of the Serapeum may in fact have been just one aspect of a wider-ranging interest in this part of the North Saqqara plateau that resulted in the revitalisation of the area. The tombs in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery are situated precisely on the route of the later paved Serapeum Way of the Greco-Roman period. This paved road connected the city of Memphis to the Serapeum.[33] It is not unthinkable that the later paved way formalised an earlier route that crossed the cemetery at precisely this point. As such, the access road that led up to the plateau probably

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30   Compare to the situation at Amarna: Stevens, CAJ 28/1, 106–109, fig. 6.

31   In reality, the crown and the temple were two sides of the same coin, which made that, in effect, all artists in some way or another operated under the charge of the king.

32   A.-P. Zivie, "Amenhotep III et l'Ouest de Memphis", in: L. Evans (ed.), Ancient Memphis 'Enduring is the Perfection': Proceedings of the International Conference held at Macquarie University, Sydney on August 14-15, 2008, OLA 214, Leuven 2012, 425–243. Unfortunately, most tombs situated in the southern cliff of the Bubasteion still await full publication. This makes it difficult to assess their precise dating.

33   I wonder if the cemetery in this part of the North Saqqara plateau might have been connected, in some way, to the presumed nearby settlement known in the Old Kingdom as Djed-Sut, which was also the name of the cemetery associated with the king's pyramid (Djed-Sut-Teti). The settlement was established for the workers involved in the construction of the pyramid complex and the royal and private tombs, and it may, at a later point in time, have merged with the wider metropolis of Memphis, as had also happened with Mennefer, the settlement associated with the pyramid of Pepi I further to the south. See: J. Málek, "The Temples at Memphis: Problems Highlighted by the EES Survey", in: S. Quirke (ed.), The Temple in Ancient Egypt: New Discoveries and Recent Research, London 1997, 94–95, fig. 1; J. Hamilton/H. Navrátilová/N. Staring, 'The Place is a Palimpsest': Spatial Approaches to Graffiti in Saqqara, forthcoming.

passed through a *wadi*[34] and along the southern cliff of what later would become known as the Bubasteion. It would have turned the visual landmark of the southern cliff into a feature that would see high traffic of people coming and going to and from the Serapeum. This ultimately made it a highly sought-after burial spot for members of Amenhotep III's court.
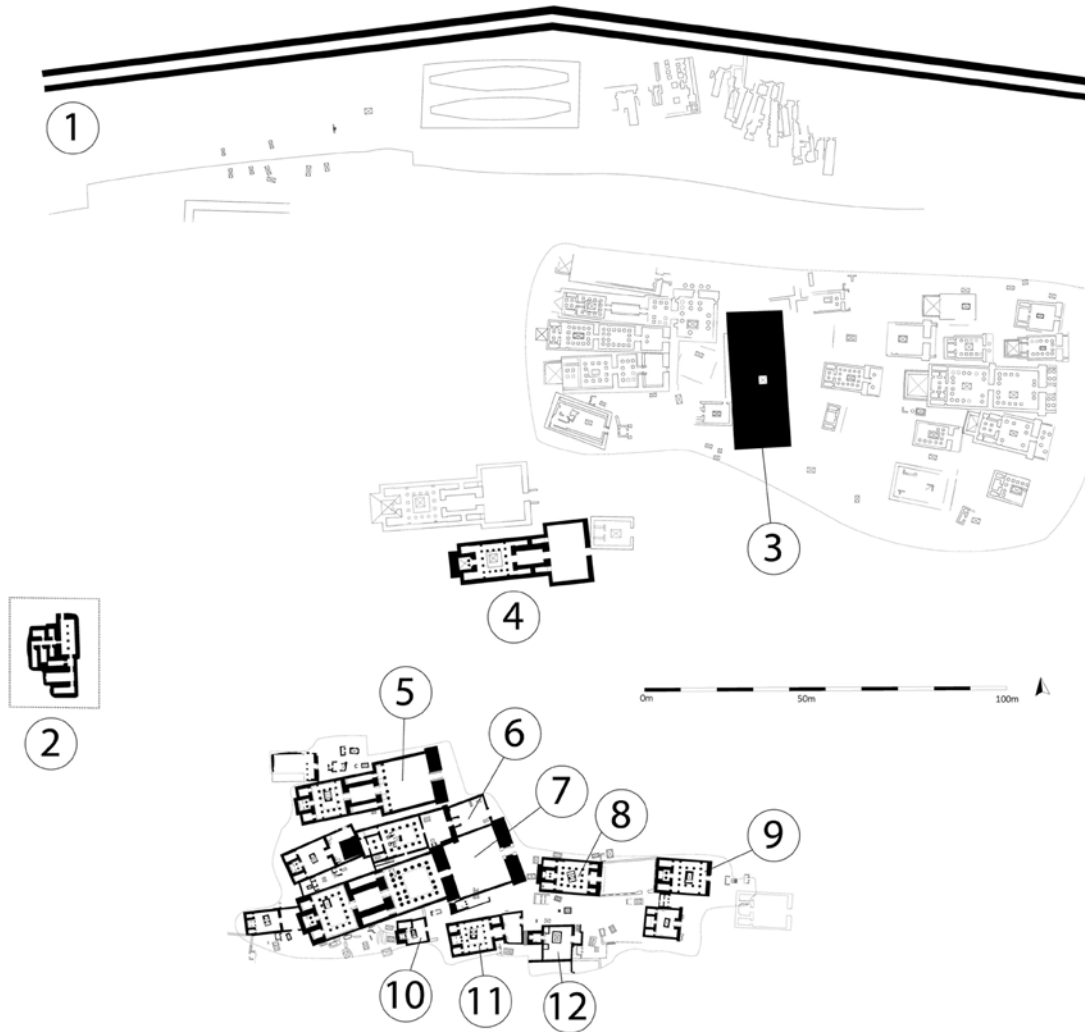
FIGURE 3   Unas South Cemetery: 1. Unas causeway, west section; 2. Mastaba of Ptahhotep (LS 31), approximate location; 3. Mastaba of Minnofer; 4. Tomb of Ptahmose; 5. Maya; 6. Tia; 7. Horemheb; 8. Meryneith; 9. Ptahemwia; 10. Iniuia; 11. Pay & Raia; 12. Ry (image by the author)

UNAS SOUTH CEMETERY

The largest cluster of New Kingdom tombs is found in the Unas South Cemetery, although at present we are rather ill-informed about its pre-Amarna development (Figure 3; Table 5). The earliest substantial tomb structures of the New Kingdom in this area date to the early years of Akhenaten. One tomb was made for the "steward of the temple of Aten" (*im.y-r pr*

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34   Possibly the same *wadi* that had also accommodated the causeway connecting the pyramid temple and valley temple of Userkaf.

n.y pr ʾItn), Meryneith,[35] and his immediate neighbour to the east was a "royal butler" (*wbꜣ nsw wꜥb ꜥ.wy*) named Ptahemwia.[36] Their funerary monuments are the earliest known Memphite "temple-tombs". The freestanding buildings made of mud bricks measure ca. 15 m in length, east to west. The pylon-shaped entrances give access to a peristyle courtyard, and three chapels are situated in the west-end of the tombs. The central chapel was subdivided by means of screen walls, which created an antechapel and inner chapel. A large, naos-shaped stela was positioned in or against the west wall of the latter. A pyramid made of mud bricks was built over the central chapel. The tombs' interior mud-brick walls were fitted with a limestone revetment bearing relief decoration, and sometimes the walls were plastered and subsequently received painted decoration.

The reign of king Tutankhamun marked a period of growth of the cemetery.[37] This development is not only attested archaeologically – by means of actual excavated tombs – but it is also reflected in the quantity of decontextualised tomb elements now held in public and private collections. The increase in the number of tomb elements dated to the late Eighteenth Dynasty also reflects a significant change in the concept and architectural layout of the tombs, a process that possibly started in the second half of the reign of Amenhotep III (see section II.2, below). It is tempting to connect the cemetery's "growth spurt" with the abandonment of Amarna early in the king's reign. Officials who had built, or were in the process of building (as in the case of May[a]) rock-cut tombs at Akhenaten's capital had to start all over (or continue, as in the case of Meryre alias Meryneith), at Saqqara (or elsewhere).

In the immediate post-Amarna period, tombs were built as freestanding structures, each located at a small distance from the others. Open space available all around the tombs enabled the expansion of the buildings at later stages. This happened, for example, with the tombs of Pay and Horemheb. These were each provided with an additional courtyard. In the case of Pay, the courtyard was added by his son, Raia, who adapted and expanded the structure for his own use (i.e. burial). Ry, another military official, started his tomb as a single-room chapel to which he later added a walled courtyard. At a later time still, a sort of porch was added in front of the entrance, possibly in response to the changing use of space outside the tomb.[38] Taken together, the continuously growing structures, large and small, led to the gradual decrease of space available between the individual tombs.

As noted above, the two Amarna-age officials Meryneith and Ptahemwia provide us with the first archaeological evidence for so-called temple-tombs. The scarcity of earlier relief-decorated revetment blocks suggests that they were indeed among the first to have ever built this type of tomb at Saqqara. Yet it does not mean that their tombs were not modelled after pre-existing structures located in the same cemetery. Assorted tomb elements held in public and private collections prove that the early 19th century excavators must have excavated and

35   M. J. Raven/R. van Walsem (eds.), The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara, PALMA 10, Turnhout 2014.
36   M. J. Raven, The Tombs of Ptahemwia and Sethnakht at Saqqara, PALMA 22, Leiden 2020.
37   See also N. Staring, "The Necropolis as a Lived Space and a Continuous Work in Progress", in: M. Bárta/F. Coppens/J. Krejčí (eds.), Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2020, Prague, in press.
38   Staring, RiME 4, 16–61. Also with references to the building stages at the tombs of Horemheb and Pay/Raia.

entered various pre-Amarna tomb structures.[39] The largest assemblage of pre-Amarna stone elements from a single tomb derives from the now-lost funerary monument of Amenhotep Huy, a prominent citizen of Memphis in the reign of Amenhotep III.[40] Amenhotep, short name Huy, held various high offices, including that of "chief steward of Memphis" (*im.y-r pr wr m mn-nfr*) and "chief steward of the king in Memphis" (*im.y-r pr wr n.y nsw m inb.w-ḥḏ*). That his tomb stood in the Unas South Cemetery is suggested by the find of a quartzite stela that was reused in the Coptic monastery of Jeremias.[41] The builders of the monastery would have sourced the heavy stela from a place nearby. The same had happened with so many of the limestone relief blocks the Coptic builders removed from a score of other nearby tombs, such as that of Maya, for example.[42] The find spot of the stela of Huy is a stone's throw from where the tombs of Meryneith and Ptahemwia are located. It thus seems very likely that Huy's tomb stood close by.

II.2   A CLOSER LOOK AT A MISSING LINK: THE TOMB OF AMENHOTEP HUY

The currently available data, albeit fragmentary, appears to point to the tomb of Amenhotep Huy as having served as a "model" for the later, Amarna-period tombs, and ultimately the "typical" Memphite temple-tomb. The actual tomb of Huy is lost, so we have to rely on the scattered stone elements derived from the monument, and reconstruct their original architectural setting to archaeologically known examples of later date. My suggestion is also based on the titles held by Huy. One in particular, namely that of "overseer of works in United-with-Ptah" (*im.y-r k3.t m ḥnm.t ptḥ*), refers to his responsibilities in constructing Amenhotep III's Memphite memorial temple, which, in analogy with the king's Theban temple at Kom el-Hettan, was probably named the "Temple of Millions of Years of Menmaatre-United-with-Ptah in the house of Ptah" (*ḥw.t n.t ḥḥ.w m rnp.wt nb-m3ˤ.t-rˤ-ḥnm.t-ptḥ m pr ptḥ*). Huy's involvement in constructing the temple is described in the autobiographical text carved on a temple statue of his, found at Memphis.[43] We learn that the king promoted him "to direct the construction works in his (i.e. the king's) house of Millions of Years, which he made anew in his cultivated land west of Memphis, upon the bank/foreshore of Ankhtawy". The king's temple is today lost; however, the location given by Huy suggests that it stood at the edge of the floodplain due west of Memphis, close to the slope of the *gebel* near the Unas South Cemetery at Saqqa-

39   A large selection of the objects derived from the tomb of Amenhotep Huy are conveniently assembled in P. Giovetti/D. Picchi (eds.), Egypt: Millenary Splendour. The Leiden Collection in Bologna, Milan 2016, cat. nos. V13–20. The study of W. C. Hayes, "A Writing-palette of the Chief Steward Amenhotep and Some Notes on its Owner", in: JEA 24, 1938, 9–24, also remains essential.

40   This official is also mentioned on the so-called "fragment Daressy", two joining relief-decorated blocks from an unknown tomb at Saqqara, listing a range of "famous men from the past", including kings, high priests of Ptah, viziers, and other officials. See: PM III/2, 571–572 (left fragment); B. Mathieu, "Réflections sur le 'Fragment Daressy' et ses hommes illustres", in: C. Zivie-Coche/I. Guermeur (eds.), "Parcourir l'éternité": hommages à Jean Yoyotte 2, BEHE SHP 156, Turnhout 2012, 839–840.

41   J. E. Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara (1908-9, 1909-10): The Monastery of Apa Jeremias, Cairo 1912, pls. 4 ("stela" at the entrance doorway of the "court of octagons"), 84.

42   Quibell, Monastery of Apa Jeremias, 143–147, pls. 65–86.

43   Found in a secondary context: W. M. F. Petrie, Tarkhan I and Memphis V, BSAE/ERA 23, London 1913, 33–36, plates 78 [bottom, right], 79–80. The statue is today held in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, inv. no. 1913.163.

ra.[44] This location is close to where the stela of Huy was found by Quibell, in the ruins of the monastery of Jeremias, and thus close to where Huy's tomb is to be hypothetically situated. We may cautiously conclude that Huy built his tomb at a spot from where the king's temple was clearly visible.[45] Bearing in mind that we have archaeological data of neither Huy's tomb nor the king's temple, we may still tentatively suggest that Huy modelled his tomb after the king's memorial temple. In support of this suggestion we may point to Huy's homonymous colleague in the "Southern City", Amenhotep-son-of-Hapu, who was responsible for the construction of Amenhotep III's memorial temple at Kom el-Hettan in Thebes. It was not too far from the king's temple that Amenhotep-son-of-Hapu built his own mortuary temple[46] in addition to a rock-cut tomb at Gurnet Murai.[47]

As the king's overseer of works and "scribe of recruits" (*sš nsw nfr.w*), Amenhotep Huy had access to all the material resources (incl. stone quarries) and control over the human resources required at the king's temple construction site. It supports the suggestion that Huy was in a position to also channel the resources to his private funerary monument – a monument that (in my reconstruction) stood in close proximity to the temple of the king he served. It has been pointed out elsewhere that it was not at all unusual for high-ranking officials to use the administration under their responsibility for their personal projects.[48] This is a practice we would today perhaps label under the heading of corruption, but which at the time was considered common practice, being one of the fringe benefits of certain offices or connections in certain social and/or professional networks.[49] We can bear out this scenario if we take a look at a selection of Huy's tomb elements and funerary equipment. All elements are made of a selection of hard stone, including one pyramidion of granite (Leiden AM 6-b) and another of diorite (Florence 2610), and a canopic chest made of quartzite (Leiden AM 2-b).[50] The latter item stands out in particular, because stone specimens of this type of object were usually made exclusively for kings. Non-royal examples were normally made of wood. Quartzite (siliceous or silicified sandstone), moreover, is a very hard stone (rated 7 on the scale of Mohs), a luxurious material that was not readily available,[51] although the well-known quarry of this stone lay not far from ancient Memphis at the site now known as Gebel Ahmar near present-day Heliopolis. As the king's "overseer of works" (*im.y-r k3.t*), "overseer of the House of Silver and Gold" (*im.y-r pr n.y ḥd-nbw*), and "overseer of the desert areas in the entire land" (*im.y-r ḫ3s.wt m t3 r dr=f*),

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44   Staring, in Staring/Twiston Davies/Weiss (eds.), Perspectives, 213–218.

45   Compare the situation at Thebes concerning the visual links between tombs and other built features (temples for kings and gods) in the wider landscape: Jiménez-Higueras, Sacred Landscape.

46   C. Robichon/A. Varille, Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep: fils de Hapou, FIFAO 11, Cairo 1936.

47   D. Bidoli, "Zur Lage des Grabes des Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu", in: MDAIK 26, 1970, 11–14; F. Kampp, Die thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie, Theben 13, Mainz 1996, 766–767, tomb no. 396 (although the attribution to Amenhotep Huy is not certain).

48   Eyre, in Powell (ed.), Labor, 198–199.

49   As suggested on the basis of an analysis of patterns of reuse of tomb building material: N. Staring, "Adaptation and Re-use of Earlier Tombs", in: F. Hagen/D. Soliman/R. Olsen, Tomb Construction in New Kingdom Egypt, Cambridge in press.

50   See the catalogue entries in Giovetti/Picchi, Egypt: Millenary Splendour, cat. nos. V13–20.

51   F. H. Stross/R. L. Hay/F. Asaro/H. R. Bowman/H. V. Michel, "Sources of the Quartzite of Some Ancient Egyptian Sculptures", in: Archaeometry 30/1, 1988, 109–119.

Huy was personally (at least officially) in charge of quarrying the stone and in addition he also oversaw the craftsmen and sculptors that worked the raw material to make, for example, architectural elements and statues. Thus he was in an excellent position to acquire the stone for his own use (again, not so much a case of pilfering) and appoint the sculptors that were under his charge to produce the stela. It is worth pointing out that great quantities of quartzite from Gebel Ahmar were required at the site of Amenhotep III's temple of Millions of Years at Thebes, ca. 700 km to the south.[52] It was used, for example, to make various colossal statues, two of which still sit in front of the (now completely destroyed) first pylon of the complex. Did Amenhotep Huy have a role to play in the procurement of the material for the southern temple of the king also? In this respect, it is worth pointing to the "chief royal sculptor" ($ḥr.y$ $sꜥnḫ.w$) Men of the reign of Amenhotep III, who left a graffito at Aswan depicting him in front of what has been interpreted as a colossal seated statue of the king – a statue that he may have made.[53] Men's wife, Ry, came from Heliopolis, and their son, Bak, attained the same position as his father in the reign of Akhenaten – being involved in designing the king's new capital. Bak had a stela made of quartzite, depicting him alongside his wife standing in a naos-shaped shrine (representing a tomb façade?) with a vaulted roof.[54] Interestingly, a man named Neb-neteru, who held office as "scribe of the treasury" ($sš$ $pr-ḥḏ$) in the late reign of Amenhotep III, had a comparable stela made of the same material, deriving from the same stone quarry at Gebel Ahmar, depicting him flanked by his wife and mother.[55] This stela once stood in his Saqqara tomb, likely a naos-shaped chapel superstructure with a vaulted roof, much alike the structures excavated in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. That the scribe was in a position to have such a luxury object made by a highly specialised craftsman suggests, to me, that Nebneteru may have been involved in the same royal building project(s) as Amenhotep Huy, who was not only his contemporary but also his superior in rank within the administration. Perhaps the same sculptor was responsible for producing the tomb elements of both. Moreover, we may tentatively suggest that the stelae of Nebneteru and Bak were also made by the same sculptor, perhaps even by (Men and) Bak? More detailed material and stylistic analyses are required to follow up this suggestion. What we do know for certain, is that all these officials were in one capacity or the other involved in the king's grand construction works, in Memphis, Amarna, and Thebes. They likely knew each other personally, worked alongside one another to realise the kings' projects, and may even have been mutually involved in the production of the stone elements made for their tombs. Such country-wide social networks, paired with a high level of mobility of the individuals involved, likely worked as catalysts for the exchange of ideas between individuals, between major settlement and temple sites, and between the royal and

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52 R. W. O'B. Knox/R. Stadelmann/J. A. Harrell/T. Heldal/H. Sourouzian, "Mineral Finger-printing of Egyptian Siliceous Sandstones and the Quarry Source of the Colossi of Memnon", in: N. Abu-Jaber/E. G. Bloxam/P. Degryse/T. Heldal (eds.), QuarryScapes: Ancient Stone Quarry Landscapes in the Eastern Mediterranean, Geological Survey of Norway, Special Publication 12, Oslo 2009, 77–85.

53 L. Habachi, "Varia from the Reign of King Akhenaten", in: MDAIK 20, 1965, 86.

54 Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, inv. no. ÄM 31009, measuring h: 63.7 x w: 30 x th: 15 cm. R. Krauss, "Der Oberbildhauer Bak und sein Denkstein in Berlin", in: Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen 28, 1986, 5–46.

55 Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. no. AM 8-b, measuring h: 102 x w: 63.5 x th: 32 cm. (Giovetti/Picchi, Egypt: Millenary Splendour, cat. V.32).

private sphere, that materialised, for example, in the design of private tombs at each of the necropolises of Memphis, Amarna, and Thebes.

Unfortunately, the tombs of all the officials involved in the building projects of Amenhotep III just described are lost. The much better documented post-Amarna cases of Horemheb and Maya, whose tombs are archaeologically attested, will serve to further illustrate how one's professional affiliations were leveraged at the construction site of one's private funerary monument.

III. HOREMHEB, MAYA, AND THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN KING'S POST-AMARNA CONSTRUCTION WORKS

The Saqqara necropolis contains the monumental tombs of two of the absolute key-players in Tutankhamun's administration. Horemheb served as the young king's regent (*ir.y-pʿ.t*)[56] and "commander-in-chief" (*im.y-r im.yw-r mšʿ n.y nb t3.wy*), and Maya served as the "overseer of the king's treasury" (*im.y-r pr-ḥḏ n.y nb t3.wy*).[57] Jacobus van Dijk argues that the two men effectively ruled Egypt in close collaboration.[58] Their elevated positions in the country's home affairs and at court are reflected in the incredibly long lists of titles they held (Table 5). The titles also indicate that their responsibilities were not just limited to the army or treasury.[59] Egyptian officials such as Maya and Horemheb were entangled in a web of affiliations, operating in a complex social network in which every member of the (sub-)elite performed multiple roles across various spheres of administration. All contemporary officials who built tomb structures at Saqqara were, in one way or another, affiliated with these two men. In this section, I will explore how these webs of affiliations contributed to realising the monumental tombs built at Saqqara.

The temple-tombs of Horemheb and Maya rank among the largest private funerary monuments built in the Memphite necropolis during the New Kingdom (Figure 3). The superstructure of the tomb of Horemheb measures no less than 65 m in length. Its mud-brick walls measured up to 3 m in height and at its interior it was provided with a limestone revetment bearing fine relief decoration.[60] Constructing and decorating the tomb of Horemheb took place within the nine-year reign of Tutankhamun. The time frame can be further narrowed

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56   G. T. Martin, Tutankhamun's Regent: Scenes and Texts from the Memphite Tomb of Horemheb for Students of Egyptian Art, Iconography, Architecture, and History, EES EM 111, London 2016.

57   G. T. Martin, The Tomb of Maya and Meryt I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary, EES EM 99, London 2012.

58   J. van Dijk, The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis. Historical and Iconographical Studies, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Groningen 1993, 79.

59   To consider the army or the treasury as two separately operating branches of the "state government" (a modern term) would be a projection of present-day ideas about state organisation on an ancient one. This ultimately results in a modern perception of the king's administration rather than one reflecting the reality in the New Kingdom.

60   The forecourt was built at a later stage, presumably in the reign of Horemheb. The interior mud-brick walls of the later added court contained no revetment of limestone and thus no iconographic programme.

down if we situate the start of its building in or shortly after year 1 of the king, when the "capital" was moved from Amarna back to Memphis. Taken together, the tomb's size, extend of the relief-decorated wall surface, and the relatively short construction time, imply that a sizable workforce was mobilised to realise the construction from start to finish in no more than seven or eight years. We do not know who the architects, craftsmen, and artists were (by name) that worked on this monument, and so it remains difficult to assess along what lines the construction and decoration processes were organised. However, given that Horemheb acted as the king's deputy and served as "overseer of all works of the king" (*im.y-r k3.t nb.t n.t nsw*) and "of Upper and Lower Egypt" (*n.t Šmʿ.wT3-mḥ.w*), we can be quite confident that he had direct and unlimited access to all the necessary resources, both material and human. Even more so, because the tomb was not a private monument strictly speaking, for it was built from the start for the regent, and so it stood more or less on the same footing as a royal monument. From the example of Amarna, we know precisely what could possibly be realised in a short span of time. The entire city replete with temples (bearing hundreds of metres of relief decoration), palaces, administrative buildings, and royal and private rock-cut tombs was built from the ground up in no more than 12 years.[61] When the city was abandoned shortly after Akhenaten's death, the population did not disappear into thin air. We know that some high-ranking inhabitants of Akhetaten, including May(a), moved to Memphis,[62] and it is quite likely that a selection of the skilled workforce moved north too. Thus, there would have been no shortage of craftsmen available at Memphis early in the reign of Tutankhamun. The craftsmen were engaged in a whole range of construction works in, for example, the city temple complexes and the royal palace.

High-ranking officials overseeing various local Memphite institutions, both palace and temple, also held titles pointing to their responsibilities in managing construction works. For example, Pay, an official who built his tomb directly south of Horemheb's, held office as "overseer of works on all monuments of his majesty" (*im.y-r k3.t n.y mn.w nb n.y ḥm=f*). The construction works he supervised were connected to the royal palace at Memphis, because his primary title of office was "overseer of the royal household[63] of Memphis" (*im.y-r ip.t nsw.t n.t Mn-nfr*). Mery(ty)neith alias Meryre served as an "overseer of works of the king" (*im.y-r k3.t nsw*).[64] The building activities he supervised were focused on the Memphite temple of Aten, since he primarily acted as the temple's steward (*im.y-r pr n.y pr ʾItn m Mn-nfr*).

The range of responsibilities of these two officials in "local" Memphite construction works is dwarfed by the range of kingdom-wide responsibilities of Maya, who built his tomb some

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61   Counting from the city's foundation in year 5 of Akhenaten to the king's death in year 17. See e.g. A. Stevens, "Tell el-Amarna", in: W. Wendrich (ed.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, Los Angeles 2016. Accessed on 23. 01. 2021. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1k66566f.

62   At least to build his tomb. We know that a substantial part of his responsibilities lay at Thebes, where he acted, for example, as "overseer of works in the Valley of the Kings".

63   D. Bělohoubková, "*Jmy-r3 jp.t nsw* at the End of the 18ᵗʰ Dynasty: An Iconographical Study", in: M. Arranz Cárcamo/R. Sánchez Casado/A. Planelles Orozco/S. Alarcón Robledo/J. Ortiz García/P. Mora Riudavets (eds.), Current Research in Egyptology 2019. Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Symposium, University of Alcalá, 17–21 June 2019, Oxford 2021, 130–141.

64   R. van Walsem, "The Family and Career of Meryneith and Hatiay", in: M. J. Raven/R. van Walsem (eds.), The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara, PALMA 10, Turnhout 2014, 45, is not absolutely certain whether the title is indeed to be associated with Meryneith.

30 m north of Horemheb's. Maya's long list of titles includes the office of "overseer of works in the Place of Truth" (*im.y-r k3.t m s.t-m3ꜥ.t*), "overseer of all works of the king" (*im.y-r k3.t nb.t n.t nsw*), and "overseer of all craftsmen of the king" (*im.y-r ḥmw.w nb.w n.w nsw*). The first title refers to his duties in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes,[65] where his presence is recorded in a hieratic graffito left on a wall in the tomb of Thutmosis IV (KV 43). The graffito gives the date as year 8 of Horemheb. A few years before the graffito was written, Maya was active at another tomb in the Valley of the Kings, as he prepared the burial of Tutankhamun.[66] He may have similarly been involved in the construction of the tombs of Ay (WV 23) and Horemheb (KV 57) as well. Maya cannot have been present at the funeral of the late king, however, because it is assumed that he died in (or close to) year 9 of Horemheb.

From his autobiography, engraved on the south wall of the entrance portal to his Memphite tomb, we learn that Maya was also directly involved in the post-Amarna restoration campaign under Tutankhamun and Horemheb.[67] Maya describes himself as "one who carried out the plans of the king of my time and (one who) did not neglect what he (i.e. the king) had commanded [to make splendid?] the temples, in fashioning the images of the gods".[68] The listed activities are reminiscent of those described in the restoration stela of Tutankhamun (Cairo CG 34183), which probably dates to the king's first year in office.[69] The stela narrates how the king restored the temples in the entire land. These activities were not so much carried out on the initiative of the eight-year-old king, we may assume, but initiated by Horemheb, who acted as the king's regent, and by Maya, who had all the construction works in his portfolio.[70] The restoration stela text first lays out the pitiful state of the temples throughout the land when Tutankhamun ascended the throne. The message, in summary: all the temples had fallen into neglect. We then learn that the king took action to undo this situation, and singles out the fashioning of a cult image for Amun (the stela was set up in the god's temple at Karnak) and Ptah-Who-is-South-of-His-Wall, Lord of Ankhtawy, the city god of Memphis. The cult statues are said to be made of fine gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise and every rare stone. The text then continues to sum up the king's deeds, which includes the making of monuments for the gods (not specifying which ones), the fashioning of their statues in fine gold, and building their sanctuaries as monuments of eternal age.

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65   However, for the possibility of more "Places of Truth", see B. J. J. Haring, "Saqqara – A Place of Truth?", in: V. Verschoor/A. J. Stuart/C. Demarée (eds.), Imaging and Imagining the Memphite Necropolis. Liber Amicorum René van Walsem, EgUit 30, Leiden/Leuven 2017, 147–154.

66   Where he left an ushabti figure as a personal gift to the deceased king. See most recently: K. C. Lakomy, "'[…] Can you see anything?' 'Yes, it is wonderful': besondere Stiftungsvermerke der königlichen Beamten Maya und Nachtmin auf sieben Totenfiguren König Tutanchamuns", in: MDAIK 73, 2017, 145–167.

67   Martin, Maya and Meryt I, 19–20, scene [5], plates 13–14.

68   Van Dijk, New Kingdom Necropolis, 78; E. Frood, Biographical Texts from Ramesside Egypt, WAW 26, Atlanta 2007, 141–143 [23]; Martin, Maya and Meryt I, London 2012, 20.

69   Urk. IV, 2025–2032. For a translation of the text, see e.g. J. van Dijk, "De Restauratiestèle van Toetanchamon", in: R. J. Demarée/K. R. Veenhof (eds.), Zij schreven Geschiedenis. Historische documenten uit het Oude Nabije Oosten (2500–100 v. Chr.), in: MVVEG-EOL 33, Leiden/Leuven 2003, 226–237.

70   J. van Dijk, The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis, 14. See also N. Kawai, "Ay Versus Horemheb: The Political Situation in the Late Eighteenth Dynasty Revisited", in: JEH 3/2, 2010, 261–292.

The fashioning of new cult statues in the immediate post-Amarna period is also recorded on the stela of Hatiay, the "chief sculptor of the king" (*ḥr.y ṯȝy-mḏȝ.t n.y nb tȝ.wy*).[71] The autobiographical text narrates how Hatiay, also known as Userhat, "was initiated in the House of Gold (*ḥw.t-nbw*) in order to fashion the cult statues and the divine statues of all the gods". Userhat is probably to be identified as the owner of house T34.1 in the North Suburbs of Amarna.[72] From his house, he may have been overseeing the collecting of building material from the city in the process of abandonment as well as the building activities in the temple of Thoth at nearby Hermopolis (ancient Khemenu, present-day El Ashmunein).[73] Important parts of the god's temple were built during the reign of Horemheb. Countless *talatat* blocks that were initially used to construct the palaces and temples at Akhetaten were later taken as building material, transported across the Nile, and reused in the temple of Thoth.

The same "chief sculptor", Userhat Hatiay, has been identified in a scene in the tomb of Maya.[74] The scene was situated on the south wall of the inner courtyard, and depicted Userhat in front of a kiosk with offerings, pouring liquid from a vase as part of the funerary ceremonies.[75] In this scene, Userhat bears the title "overseer of works in the Place of Eternity" (*im.y-r kȝ.t m s.t nḥḥ*), which points to his duties in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes. Wherever he was stationed, he would have carried out his work under the official direction of Maya. The fact that Maya's chief sculptor is so prominently depicted in his Saqqara tomb may suggest that Userhat was in fact responsible for realising the relief decoration in the tomb of his superior.[76] As such, the professional relationship between Maya and Userhat, and the latter's involvement in the tomb construction project of the former, presents a good example of an official who directed resources (that he controlled as part of the office he held) toward his private funerary project.

Amenemone, another craftsman named and depicted in the tomb of Maya, is depicted as the sixth person in a row of offering bearers in a scene from the tomb of Maya.[77] A text label identifies him as the "deputy of these craftsmen of the treasury of pharaoh" (*idnw nȝ*

71   Stela Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 12, probably from Abydos. For a thorough discussion of the stela, the official, and his involvement in the post-Amarna restoration campaign, see: H. WILLEMS, "The One and the Many in Stela Leiden V1", in: CdE 73, 1998, 231–243; J. VAN DIJK, "Maya's Chief Sculptor Userhat-Hatiay. With a Note on the Length of the Reign of Horemheb", in: GM 148, 1995, 29–34.

72   H. FRANKFORT/J. D. S. PENDLEBURY, The City of Akhenaten II: The North Suburb and the Desert Altars, London 1933, 63–66, 89–90, plates 10, 15, 22.6, 23.1–4.

73   WILLEMS, CdE 73, 240–241.

74   VAN DIJK, GM 148, 29–34.

75   The scene was recorded by Carl Richard Lepsius in 1843 (LD III, plate 242b) and was probably destroyed sometime after.

76   And so his depiction in the tomb might perhaps be seen as a self-portrait *in assistenza*. Compare e.g. D. LABOURY, "On the master painter of the tomb of Amenhotep Sise, Second High Priest of Amun under the reign of Thutmose IV (TT 75)", in: R. JASNOW/K. M. COONEY (eds.), Joyful in Thebes. Egyptological studies in honor of Betsy M. Bryan, Atlanta 2015, 327–337.

77   LD III, 241.b; B. G. OCKINGA, Amenemone the Chief Goldsmith. A New Kingdom Tomb in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara, ACE Reports 22, Oxford 2004, 19–20. The connection was first made by J. BERLANDINI-GRENIER, "Varia Memphitica I (I)", in: BIFAO 76, 1976, 312. Jacobus van Dijk (quoted in OCKINGA, Amenemone, 20) convincingly argues that one of Amenemone's sons, the "scribe of the treasury" (*im.y-r pr-ḥḏ*) is also depicted in Maya's tomb, where he bears the title "letter writer of the overseer of the treasury" (*sš šꜥ.t n(.y) pȝ im.y-r pr.wy-ḥḏ*), in other words, Maya's personal secretary.

n.y ḥmw.t pr-ḥḏ n.w pr-ꜥꜣ). Amenemone built his own tomb in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara (Loret no. 2).[78] There, he bears the titles "chief of goldsmiths of the king" (*ḥr.y nbw.w n.w nb tꜣ.wy*), and "chief of craftsmen of the king" (*im.y-r ḥmw.t n.t nb tꜣ.wy*). The latter title clearly places Amenemone administratively under the direct supervision of Maya, who, after all, was the "overseer of all craftsmen of the king" (*im.y-r ḥmw.w nb.w n.w nsw*). The connection between Maya and Amenemone also presents a link between the cemetery of artists in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and the monumental tombs built for high officials in the Unas South Cemetery.

Userhat Hatiay and Amenemone both collaborated on a range of projects alongside with Maya, who directed all works, and who allocated the necessary resources, material and human, from the state treasury. It is unfortunate that the texts on the walls of Amenemone's tomb do not give us any details of where or on what projects he worked. However, given that he took orders from Maya, and that he was the "chief of goldsmiths of the king", he may have been the head of the workshop(s) that produced the cult statues of fine gold, mentioned in Maya's autobiography and in Tutankhamun's restoration text. Since Maya was also responsible for assembling the valuable funerary items destined for the burial of Tutankhamun, there is also a fair chance that Amenemone was involved in the production of certain gold items such as jewellery ultimately destined for the king's tomb.[79]

In the following two sections, I will shift focus to the gold workshops of the temple of Aten at Memphis. I will explore a possible link between two officials employed at the temple – a leading official and his subordinate – and the decoration of their respective tombs at Saqqara.

IV.   THE TOMB OF MERYNEITH AND THE GOLD WORKSHOPS IN THE TEMPLE OF ATEN AT MEMPHIS

Meryneith was a senior administrator of the temple of Aten at Memphis. He is the only known bearer of the title "steward of the temple of Aten" (*im.y-r pr n.y pr ꜣItn*), an office he attained somewhere between regnal years 5 and 8 of Akhenaten. The period during which he held the office coincided with the establishment of the Memphite Aten temple. Since Meryneith also bore the title of "overseer of works", he may have been responsible for managing the construction of the temple. In a next stage of his career, between year 9 of Akhenaten and years 1–2 of Tutankhamun, Meryneith additionally held office as the "greatest of seers of the Aten in the temple of Aten" (*wr mꜣ.w n pꜣ ꜣItn m pr ꜣItn*), at Memphis *and* at Akhetaten. At that time, his name was changed to Meryre – probably a better fit for a high priest of the new state god. Meryre also took up residence at the newly-founded city in Middle Egypt,[80] and started constructing a more permanent house there, namely a new rock-cut tomb (Amarna tomb AT 04).[81] Construction probably started at around year 9–10 of Akhenaten. Despite the 7 or

78   OCKINGA, Amenemone.

79   As suggested by OCKINGA, Amenemone, 20.

80   The new city of Akhenaten was founded in his regnal year 5.

81   Amarna Tomb AT 04, the tomb of Meryre I: N. DE G. DAVIES, The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna. Part I. The Tomb of Meryra, ASE 13, London 1903. For the identification of the Memphite Meryneith

8 years spent on its construction, the tomb was never finished. When under Tutankhamun the new capital was abandoned in favour of Memphis, Meryre returned northward, too. He resumed work on his Saqqara tomb, became the high priest in the Memphite temple of Neith, and changed his name back to Meryneith.

The range of responsibilities of Meryneith as the temple's steward is vividly illustrated in a selection of the scenes that cover the limestone wall revetment in the west part of the Saqqara tomb. This part of the structure was decorated first, and the phase is dated to years 5–8 of Akhenaten. The scenes pertaining to his professional life show Meryneith supervising the launching of a state barge, the administration of the temple stables, and the delivery, storage and administration of grain. Two scenes show Meryneith inspecting the workshops of the Aten temple. The first scene is situated on the north wall of the antechapel,[82] and the second scene is situated on the west end of the courtyard north wall.[83]

The workshop activities in the antechapel cover the full width of the north wall (Figure 4). Only the lower part of the workshop scenes is preserved. It is executed in sunk relief and shows Meryneith standing on the left-hand side as he inspects the activities that unfold in front of him, leaning on a long staff. Four scribes are positioned before his figure. They all raise their hands as they write on papyrus scrolls. The scribes present to their superior (a selection of) the newly produced items for inspection, including two chests and various jewellery items displayed on stands. Behind the scribes are shown various craftsmen engaged in a number of actions related to metal (gold?) working.[84] They are seated on three-legged stools, variably pounding hot metal on an anvil, heating an object in a brazier by means of a blowpipe, and punching decoration in a metal vase. The man engaged in the latter activity is identified by a short line of hieroglyphic text as "the engraver, Khay".

The second scene depicting a workshop is found on the north wall of the courtyard (Figure 5). The scene is positioned over a larger composition of multiple registers centred on the launching of the royal state barge of Akhenaten. The workshop scene depicts Meryneith sitting on a chair at the far right-hand side of the image, overseeing the activities playing out in front of him. There is a clear relationship between the workshop and the wharf because the artists depicted on the left-hand side of the scene are engaged in the production of two ship's kiosks. The relationship does not imply that all items produced in the workshop were destined for the barge, however.

   alias Meryre with the Amarna Meryre, see Van Walsem, in Raven/van Walsem, The Tomb of Meryneith, 51–53 (also listing arguments against the identification).

82   Raven/van Walsem, The Tomb of Meryneith, 138–139, scene [42].

83   Raven/van Walsem, The Tomb of Meryneith, 113, 114–116, scene [26].

84   The excavators describe the setting as a jewellery workshop (p. 138). While the artists are indeed engaged in the production of jewellery items, other items are produced as well. The common denominator would be metal, so it is more precise to describe it as a metal workshop, although the man on the far right, lower sub-register, is engaged in stretching leather.

FIGURE 4   Metal (gold) workshop scene in the tomb of Meryneith (after Raven/van Walsem, Tomb of Meryneith, scene [42], drawing by Dorothea Schulz).
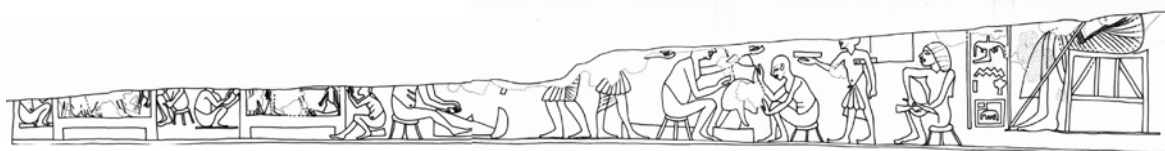

FIGURE 5   Gold workshop scene in the tomb of Meryneith (after: Raven/van Walsem, Tomb of Meryneith, scene [26.1], drawing by Dorothea Schulz).

FIGURE 6   Gold workshop scene in the tomb of Meryneith, detail of figure 5 (photograph © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden).

Right in front of Meryneith, a group of craftsmen is involved in the production of a larger-
-than-life sized head of the king (Figure 6).[85] The excavators, Maarten Raven and René van
Walsem, describe the scene as follows:[86]

> "The (…) scene shows two antithetic craftsmen on three-legged stools, polishing (?) a royal
> head with *nemes* headcloth and Double Crown, positioned on a block. The drooping chin
> identifies it as a portrait of Akhenaten, and accordingly it has sustained damage by the hand
> of later opponents of the heresy. The men are flanked by two standing scribes of whom only
> the right one is almost completely preserved; he holds a scribe's palette under his left armpit,
> while his right hand carries a scroll of papyrus."

In their description of the scene, they add that the scribe gives the "scroll of papyrus" (held
in his right hand) to the left-hand craftsman working on the king's head. The latter craftsman
extends his arm in the direction of the scribe. According to Raven and Van Walsem, the action
implies the transfer of work orders from the scribe to the sculptor.[87]

I would like to propose a different interpretation of the action depicted. The framed text
column in front of Meryneith, on the right-hand side of the scene, tells us that that we are
witnessing the "(…) fashioning in front of the gold house" (*nby.w n-ḥr pr-nbw*). This statement
clearly situates the scene in the atelier of gold-workers. Thus, the two craftsmen sitting on
the three-legged stool are not polishing the royal head – note that their hands are empty, and
polishing without making use of tools seems rather unhandy. It also seems a bit curious to
receive work orders when the item is already nearly finished. It seems perhaps more likely that
they are in fact gilding the (wooden) head of the king by applying sheets of gold or gold foil.[88]

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85   Compare this head to the sandstone head of Tutankhamun wearing a *nemes* headcloth and (the
remains of) a double crown, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. no. 11.1533 (h: 29.6 cm; provenance
unknown). See: R. E. Freed/Y. J. Markowitz/S. H. D'Auria (eds.), Farao's van de zon. Achnaton –
Nefertiti – Toetanchamon, Leiden 2001, cat. no. 240. Note that some of the colossal statues of
Akhenaten from the temple of Amun at Karnak, made before year 5, also wear the double crown
on top of the *nemes*. Did similar (albeit wooden) statues of the king adorn one of the temples at
Memphis? The production of the king's head appears in the reliefs of Meryneith's tomb that date to
years 5–8 of the king, and so the actual event of making the statue must predate the making of the
tomb relief, which makes the Memphite statue of the king contemporaneous with the Theban ones.
Note that similarly shaped statues of the king wearing various types of crown are also situated in
the Aten temple depicted in the tomb or Meryre I at Amarna (Davies, The Tomb of Meryra, plate
25 [upper-left corner])

86   Raven/van Walsem, The Tomb of Meryneith, 113, scene [26.I].

87   Raven/van Walsem, The Tomb of Meryneith, 113 n. 96.

88   I am unsure of what the first craftsman, sitting in front of Meryneith, is doing. Admittedly, my
interpretation is not without problems either. First of all, the craftsmen are not shown with tools
held in their hands. In case they applied gold foil to the head, one would have expected them to do
so by means of a pencil (by a painter, as can be gleaned from the Nabamun wall paintings in the
British Museum, where indeed the application of gold foil is attested). A proper gold sheet was
thicker and would have been handled by a gold worker rather than a painter. Note that one of the
temple workshop scenes in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100) depicts both a painter and an engraver
involved in the production of a naos: N. de G. Davies, The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rēʿ at Thebes, PMMA
EE 11, New York, 1943, plate 55.

Accordingly, the scribe does not hand over a papyrus scroll, but a sheet of gold.[89] If the scene is thus identified correctly, the workshop scene creates a direct link to another individual who owned a tomb in the Memphite necropolis, namely Ptahmay.

V. THE TOMB OF PTAHMAY AND ITS NETWORK OF ICONOGRAPHIC CORRESPONDENCES

V.1 THE TOMB OF PTAHMAY: GIZA OR SAQQARA?

Ptahmay was the "head of makers of gold foil of the temple of Aten" (*ḥr.y ir.w nbw pꜣḳ n.y pr Itn*).[90] It is the same institution where Meryneith served as steward. The decoration of the tomb of Ptahmay can also be dated at around the same date as Meryneith's phase 1, which means before year 9 of Akhenaten. Before entering into a more detailed treatment of the iconography of Ptahmay's tomb, it is first necessary to dedicate a few words to the question of provenance because the actual monument is now lost.

The Cairo Egyptian Museum holds six of the tomb's limestone relief blocks, probably deriving from a freestanding chapel.[91] The blocks were unearthed by early antiquities dealers. It is not known from where the blocks were excavated precisely. Nevertheless, scholars generally assume that the tomb stood at Giza. The Giza provenance is based on the description written by Gaston Maspero for the 1883 visitor's guide of the Bulaq Museum. With regards to the museum display of the Ptahmay blocks he writes that

"J'ai réuni dans ce casier les fragments d'un tombeau, voisin des Grandes-Pyramides, démoli en 1883 par les Arabes du petit village de Kafr el-Batrân."[92]

The village of Kafr el-Batran was located close to the Giza plateau.[93] Like various other villages located in direct vicinity of the ancient site, it was, in the 19th century, home to diggers and dealers of antiquities. The villagers extracted their merchandise from the nearby archaeo-

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89 The image still leaves me with a few questions, such as: Why is the sheet represented as almost the same shape as a papyrus document? (does it depict a rolled-up piece of gold foil?) Why is the scribe the one who hands over the sheet? (was the handing out of gold to workshop personnel meticulously recorded by scribes?)

90 C. M. Zivie, "À propos de quelques reliefs du Nouvel Empire au musée du Caire, 1: La tombe de Ptahmay à Giza", in: BIFAO 75, 1975, 285–310.

91 All blocks are treated in: Zivie, BIFAO 75, 285–310.

92 G. Maspero, Guide du visiteur au Musée de Boulaq, Boulaq 1883, 304. Zivie, BIFAO 75, 287 n. 3, emphasises that the issue of provenance is in fact more complex because the 1915 catalogue of the new Cairo Egyptian Museum (on Tahrir Square) mentions more than one site of origin for the Ptahmay material: "Giza, Kôm el-Batran", "hypogée Memphite", and the Temporary Register mentions "Giza et Saqqara". Moreover, the numbers following TN 14. 6. 24.2 in the Temporary Register (nos. 14. 6. 24.3 and 14. 6. 24.4) are also listed as pertaining to Ptahmay, even though they are in fact relief blocks from the lost tomb of Hormin. According Lepsius (L*D Text*, I, 185, plate 31), the latter tomb (numbered LS 29) must be located south of the Unas causeway.

93 The former village is today part of the larger Giza suburban conglomerate.

logical site,[94] though not exclusively from Giza. Relief blocks extracted from select Saqqara tombs were up for sale, too.[95]

The corpus of reliefs of the tomb of Ptahmay was published by Christiane Zivie in 1975, nearly a century after the group entered the Cairo Egyptian Museum. At the time of Zivie's publication, the Memphite New Kingdom necropolis was almost exclusively known from objects held in museum collections. The first systematic excavations that focused on the New Kingdom necropolis (the former EES/Leiden mission in the Unas South Cemetery) had only just begun. The hypothesised lost New Kingdom cemetery at Giza should therefore be seen in light of the very limited contextual data available at the time. The Ramesside tomb of Tia (the treasury overseer and brother-in-law of Ramesses II) and the late Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Ptahmose (an overseer of the royal household, *ip.t nsw*), were supposedly part of the same, lost cemetery at Giza.

Since 1975, our knowledge of the Memphite New Kingdom necropolis has increased significantly. Thus, in the meantime, the tomb of Tia has been (re-)discovered in the Unas South Cemetery at Saqqara.[96] The lost tomb of Ptahmose has not been relocated yet; however, the Giza provenance is certainly incorrect, and its attribution is the result of an error introduced in the 1909 catalogue entry for British Museum "stela" fragment EA 160.[97] A third tomb assigned to Giza is that of Khaemwaset, the late Eighteenth Dynasty "chief of woodworkers/carpenters of the king" (*ḥr.y mḏḥ.w nsw*).[98] According to Maspero, the Khaemwaset blocks were found at the same time and place as the Ptahmay material.

The offices held by Ptahmay and Khaemwaset – both being engaged in "the arts" – make their tombs excellent candidates for the Teti Pyramid Cemetery instead of a hypothesised lost cemetery at Giza. Of course we cannot completely rule out the possibility that another cemetery of artists existed further north of Saqqara.[99] However, taking into consideration all that we now know of the Memphite necropolis in the New Kingdom, notably the clustering

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94   See F. Hagen/K. Ryholt, The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930. The H.O. Lange Papers, Scientia Danica, Series H, Humanistica 4, Vol. 8, Copenhagen 2016.

95   For example, blocks from the tomb of Ptahmose, early Nineteenth Dynasty Chief Steward of (the temple of) Ptah, and the King's Son, Khaemwaset (fourth son of Ramesses II), for sale at Kafr el--Haram with Mohammed and Ibrahim Ali, 1899: Hagen/Ryholt, The Antiquities Trade in Egypt, 243 n. 1034; Staring, BIFAO 114/2, 466–467, n. 81–82. The block of Khaemwaset is today in the collection of the Museum August Kestner, Hannover, inv. no. 1935.200.183 (ex-coll. Friedrich Wilhelm Von Bissing, S. 526).

96   G. T. Martin, The Tomb of Tia and Tia: A Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis, EES EM 58, London 1997. Do note, however, that the Tia's also built a structure at Rosetau, at present-day Kafr el-Gabal, south of Giza. For the location and nature of the structure, see most recently: T. Bács, "Early Ramesside Royalty at Rosetau", in: Saqqara Newsletter 17, 2019, 32–45.

97   The "stela" described in the catalogue as no. 642 is not a stela but a limestone relief-decorated block (EA 160, ex-coll. Henry Salt, 1835). The error was first recognised by J. Málek, "Review Article: Two Problems Connected with New Kingdom Tombs in the Memphite Area", in: JEA 67, 1981, 156–157. See also Staring, JEOL 45, 58 n. 53, for further comments and a complete list of tomb elements pertaining to this official.

98   The corpus of reliefs of the lost tomb of Khaemwaset was also published by C. M. Zivie, "À propos de quelques reliefs du nouvel empire au musée du Caire. II. La tombe de Khaemouas, chef des charpentiers du roi, à Giza", in: BIFAO 76, 1976, 17–36.

99   Also note that craftsmen such as Stone Masons (*ḥr.ty-nṯr*) and Goldsmiths also built tombs in the Unas South Cemetery, albeit not earlier than the Ramesside period. See: N. Staring, "Revisiting

of tombs according to the offices held by their owners, I would regard the Teti Pyramid Cemetery as a much more likely candidate to situate the lost tomb of Ptahmay. I will support this suggestion in the next three paragraphs with some prosopographic and archaeological data.

Let us first consider the small, two-room chapel superstructure of Hatiay, built east of the Sixth Dynasty pyramid of Khuit (Figure 2). Hatiay served as the "chief of makers of lapis lazuli of the Lord of the Two Lands" (*ḫr.y ir.w ḥsbd n.y nb t3.wy*).[100] His tomb chapel was constructed and decorated in the late Eighteenth Dynasty.[101] Ptahmay and Hatiay are, until now, the only two known tomb owners at Saqqara who are designated as "chief of makers".[102] In both cases the workshops under their charge processed raw materials. Precious material moreover, used for the manufacture or embellishment of luxury items. Such items could have included cult images of the gods, as we have learned from the restoration text of Tutankhamun.

Gold and lapis lazuli are also mentioned (along with a few other materials) in the title of yet another high official, Sipair, whom we know from a now-lost epigraphic document which derived from his now-lost tomb at Saqqara.[103] Sipair held a number of high offices, including that of "overseer of the treasury" (*im.y-r pr.wy-ḥd*), and he lived probably in the late Eighteenth Dynasty (reign of Amenhotep III?).[104] One title designates him as "one who provides chariotry(?) with silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and all precious stones" (*sꜥb t-n.t-ḥtr m ḥd nbw ḥsbd mfk3.t ꜥ3.t nb.t šps.t*). Jaromir Málek connects the title to Sipair's main office, and argues that it relates to the rewarding of officials, a ceremony at which the treasury overse-

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Three Objects in Berlin Pertaining to the Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose: The "Lost" Faience Stela ÄM 19718 and the Limestone Pyramid Panels ÄM 1631–1632", in: SAK 45, 2016, 365–367.

100 Cairo Egyptian Museum JE 25641: G. A. Gaballa, "False Door Stelae of Some Memphite Personnel", in: SAK 7, 1979, 46, 51–52, fig. 2, pl. 2. The tomb itself was rediscovered in the 1990s by the archaeological expedition led by Zahi Hawass, see: M. M. Youssef, The New Kingdom Tomb-chapels at the Teti Cemetery in Saqqara: According to the Recent Discoveries – Comparison Studying, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cairo 2017, 220–225.

101 Stylistically, the stela in Cairo sits well in the late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun–Horemheb. A more precise date can be proposed as soon as the chapel is published in its entirety.

102 Zivie, BIFAO 75, 304 n. 1, notes that the *Belegstellen* of the *Wörterbuch* has four examples, two of which refer to Ptahmay. The third bearer of the title is a man named Ptahmose (attested by a Book of the Dead papyrus), who might in fact be the like-named son of Ptahmay; and the fourth example concerns a certain Kerten named Neferrenpet (also attested by a BD papyrus).

103 J. Málek, "An Early Eighteenth Dynasty Monument of Sipair from Saqqâra", in: JEA 75, 1989, 61–76. Both Robert Hay and John Gardner Wilkinson produced hand copies of the text. The object's current whereabouts are unknown. One fragment of it was held in the Berlin Egyptian Museum (ÄM 7781, acquired in 1878), but got lost during the Second World War.

104 Málek, JEA 75, 68–69, suggested a date very early in the Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of Ahmose. Such an early date is untenable, although this paper is not the place for a comprehensive treatment of this issue. I will limit myself to pointing out that the specific orthography of the name Ahmose, mother of Sipair, which Málek puts forward as one of three arguments for the early date, has also been observed in the late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Ahmose, "scribe of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands" (tomb Loret no. 1). Málek also acknowledges the tomb, but considers it to be mid-Eighteenth Dynasty (judging from a photograph). The tomb's architecture, however, points to a much later date (personal observation; the tomb is yet unpublished). One of the titles borne by Sipair, "child of the nursery" (*ḫrd n.y k3p*), is also held by Aper-El, the Vizier (Bub. I.1), and Resh, the "chamberlain" (*im.y-r ꜥḫnw.ty*) (Bub. I.3). The former officiated in the reign of Amenhotep III–Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, and the latter in the reign of Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III.

er played an important part.[105] Málek also floats another option, which he deems less likely, however. He tentatively suggests that the title may refer to the fact that the treasury overseer distributed the precious materials to the manufacturers of chariots and harnesses to produce the items. While I do not disagree with Málek's first option, I would like to give his second suggestion more credit. The suggestion can be supported with the example of Maya, who was responsible for the fashioning of temple cult images of fine gold, and who oversaw both the treasury and all craftsmen of the king.[106] In this respect, we can also point to yet another title held by Maya, which links him directly to the temple workshops: "guardian of secrets of the houses of gold (i.e. workshops) in the temples of all gods" (ḥr.y-šstȝ pr nbw m r-pr.w nṯr.w nb.w). It has been argued that workshops, at which temple statues were fashioned, and which in this manner temporarily accommodated the embodiments of the gods,[107] turned into sacred spaces, accessible only to the initiated.

Finally, let us have a look at the single-room tomb chapel of Huy. It was built immediately south of the pyramid of Khuit, which is ca. 30 m west of the tomb of Hatiay, the "chief of makers of lapis lazuli" (Figure 2).[108] Huy held office as the "head of merchants (or commercial agents) of the temple of the Aten" (ḥr.y šw.tyw n tȝ ḥw.t pȝ ʾItn). His naos-shaped stela (Cairo JE 10174 = CG 34182) has been dated to the latter part of the reign of Akhenaten.[109] The presence of his tomb in this area of the necropolis opens up the possibility that more members of the "middle management" of the Aten temple were buried in this area, Ptahmay being one of them. There is some discussion about which Aten temple is referred to in the title of Huy. Was it the Memphite temple,[110] or did it refer to the small Aten temple at Akhetaten?[111] The latter option would suggest that Huy shipped goods from the harbour at Memphis (Perunefer) to Akhetaten. If the office refers to the Memphite temple, it would suggest that he shipped goods to and from the local Aten temple. Either way, at the harbour, Huy would have worked closely with a man named Hornefer. His tomb stela crowned with a pyramidion was excavated in the same general area of the cemetery, east of the pyramid of Iput.[112] Hornefer bore the title of "deputy of Perunefer" (idnw n.y Prw-nfr) and he can also be dated to the Amarna period, after year 9 of Akhenaten.

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105   MÁLEK, JEA 75, 71–73. Note that Maya is depicted in a tomb scene (TT 50) being present as the king, Horemheb, awards the God's Father Neferhotep with the "Gold of Honour". See: R. HARI, La tombe Thébaine du Père Divin Neferhotep, Geneva 1985, plate 6.

106   See also the workshop scene from the tomb of Meryneith, in which a scribe hands out gold to the craftsmen.

107   WILLEMS, CdE 73, 234.

108   The tomb was rediscovered by the archaeological mission led by Zahi Hawass in the mid-1990s, see: YOUSSEF, New Kingdom Tomb-chapels, 83–105.

109   A. MARIETTE, Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie, Paris 1892, 18, plate 56b; P. LACAU, Stèles du Nouvel Empire I/2, CGC nos. 34065-34186, Cairo 1926, 222–224, plate 69. The stela is also treated in some detail in B. G. OCKINGA/S. BINDER, "Fragments of an Amarna-age Stele in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery North", in: ET 26, 2013, 506–509.

110   B. LÖHR, "Ahanjati in Memphis", in: SAK 2, 1975, 176–178, Dok. III.3; S. PASQUALI, Topographie cultuelle de Memphis 1.a. Corpus. Temples et principaux quartiers de la XVIIIe dynastie, CENiM 4, Montpellier 2011, 44.

111   VAN WALSEM, in RAVEN/VAN WALSEM, The Tomb of Meryneith, 50. Van Walsem argues that there was only one ḥw.t pȝ ʾItn, and that it was located at Akhetaten (i.e. the "small Aten temple").

112   Excavated by the Egyptian archaeological expedition led by Zahi Hawass, 1994, see: M. M. YOUSSEF, "An Amarna Stela of Hornefer/Hornakht from Saqqara", in: J. KAMRIN/M. BÁRTA/S. IKRAM/M.

To summarise the previous discussion, Ptahmay would fit perfectly in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery as we know it from the late Eighteenth Dynasty. It was where his comparably-ranked colleagues of the Aten temple and fellow craftsmen built their modest mud-brick tomb-chapels that were fitted with a limestone revetment bearing relief decoration.

FIGURE 7   Relief-decorated blocks Cairo TN 14. 6. 24.2 and 5. 7. 24.8 from the lost tomb of Ptahmay (after Zivie, BIFAO 75, plate 51, photograph © The Martin New Kingdom Archive).

V.2   PTAHMAY AND THE GOLD WORKSHOPS OF THE ATEN TEMPLE

Ptahmay decorated the limestone revetment blocks of his tomb(-chapel) with a number of scenes depicting activities related to his professional life. The joining blocks Cairo TN 5. 7. 24.18 and TN 14. 6. 24.2 formed part of what was probably a south wall, divided into at least three

registers (Figure 7). The middle register shows the tomb owner and his wife seated, on the right-hand side, facing the individuals arriving from the left. The registers above and below depict scenes from the workshops of the Aten temple.

The scene in the upper register is fragmentarily preserved. The man seated on the low-backed chair on the right-hand side likely represents Ptahmay, overseeing the activities unfolding in front of him. If it is indeed Ptahmay who inspects the activities in (one of) the temple workshop(s), we may want to compare the scene to those in the tomb of Meryneith, discussed earlier (Figures 4 and 5), and remember that Meryneith was Ptahmay's superior in the temple of Aten. In the first scene, Meryneith is depicted as various scribes report to their supervisor and present him with a selection of the finished products from the workshop. Ptahmay is similarly depicted – albeit seated, like Meryneith in the second scene from his tomb – overseeing work in the workshop and being presented a selection of the finished items. The visible remains of a rectangular chest, the foot of an offering stand, and the single foot of a standing individual are all that is left of the scene. More is visible to the left of the individual presenting the items to Ptahmay. There we observe two men seated on three-legged stools. The image of the man on the right-hand side is nearly completely lost, but he was probably engaged in the same activity as his neighbour to the left. That man lifts his right hand in the air and holds a mallet-like tool, ready to strike the item he secures on the table in front of him with his left hand. Given the nature of Ptahmay's profession, the men are most likely hammering out sheets of gold foil on an anvil. The man depicted on the left-hand side of the scene might be operating a furnace. The activities depicted in the scenes of this relief block complement, in a sense, the activities depicted in the scenes from Meryneith's tomb. The tomb scene of Ptahmay shows us the production of gold foil, those in the tomb of Meryneith lay emphasis on the gilding of items made of other material such as wood.

The scene in the lower register is divided in two by the images of Ptahmay and his wife, Tiy, in the centre. Tiy is depicted standing, feet oriented to the right, as she turns her head to look over her shoulder at the activities represented in two superimposed sub-registers. Only the upper sub-register is preserved, showing a female putting her hand in one of the amphorae positioned on a stand, as she holds a bowl in her other hand. A man (boy?) walks away from this scene, toward Tiy, as he carries two vases hanging from a yoke. Ptahmay is positioned standing in front of Tiy, to the right. He inspects the work of a carpenter, who is nearing the completion of a shrine. The carpenter is about to strike the mallet held in his right hand at the chisel held in his left. A smaller male individual is positioned in between Ptahmay and the carpenter, supporting with both hands a basket (with unclear contents) on his shoulder.

In the following, I will consider the possibility that the shrine produced in the workshop of Ptahmay may be a royal shrine, produced for the queen or king. The main clue for the suggestion lies in the iconography of the middle register of the scene.
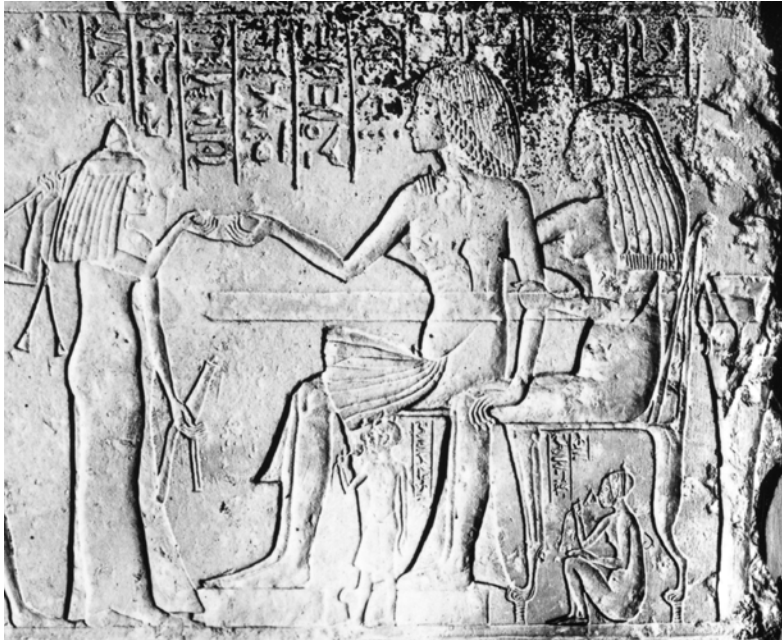
FIGURE 8   Drinking scene of Ptahmay and his wife Tiy. Detail of relief-decorated block TN 5. 7. 24.8 from the lost tomb of Ptahmay (photograph © The Martin New Kingdom Archive).

FIGURE 9   Embossed panel on Tutankhamun's small golden shrine (Cairo JE 61481) depicting queen Ankhesenamun pouring a liquid from a small flask into a footed cup held by king Tutankhamun (after EATON-KRAUSS/GRAEFE, The Small Golden Shrine of Tutankhamun, plate 16 (CR2), photograph by Büsing, reproduced with kind permission of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford).

V.3   PTAHMAY SCENE DETAILS: INSPIRATION FROM CONTEMPORARY ROYAL ICONOGRAPHY?

The middle register of the relief-decorated wall of Ptahmay depicts the man seated on a chair alongside his wife, Tiy (Figure 8). A group of female musicians and an attendant stand in front of the couple.[113] The scene as a whole links to various tombs in the Saqqara necropolis, to which I will come back below. I will first point to a very distinctive detail, which is the position Ptahmay assumes. He extends and raises his right (or far) hand to receive a cup filled with liquid. The cup is offered to him by a female attendant. As he extends his right arm, Ptahmay supports himself with his left (or near) hand – a hand executed in curly "Amarna-fingers" – against the upper leg of his wife, just above the knee. This is a highly unusual pose. In fact, I am aware of no further parallels from the Saqqara necropolis, yet the pose was clearly not invented for use in the tomb of Ptahmay. There are at least two, nearly contemporary examples from Thebes. Both parallels are attested on a single object recovered from the tomb of Tutankhamun, namely the so-called small golden shrine (Cairo JE 61481).[114] One of the scenes is situated on the exterior of the left-hand door panel (scene AR 2). The other scene is situated on the exterior of the right-hand side panel (CR 2: Figure 9). The two scenes show the king attaining the same position as does Ptahmay, although the second scene displays more resemblances in the total composition. It shows the king seated on a high-backed, lion-legged chair, his sandalled feet resting on a foot stool. His wife, the queen Ankhesenamun, stands before him. She pours a liquid from a small flask into the footed cup that Tutankhamun holds in his raised right (or far) hand. The king supports himself with his left (or near) arm and hand against the chair seat.

The parallel for the highly unusual pose assumed by Ptahmay potentially creates a direct link between the small golden shrine of Tutankhamun and its maker. After all, Ptahmay was the Head of makers of gold foil of the temple of Aten, and we have seen in the tomb of Meryneith that the temple workshops produced objects representing the king, as exemplified by the gilded head and the barge kiosks. The relief-decorated wall from the lost tomb of Ptahmay offers additional pictorial evidence to support this idea. In the bottom register, Ptahmay inspects the work of a carpenter who works on a nearly-finished shrine. Both the shrines of Ptahmay and Tutankhamun have the traditional shape of a shrine,[115] and both were made of wood. In case of the KV 62 specimen, the gold sheets were directly applied to the wooden door panels, whereas a layer of gesso is present between the wood and gold sheets of the shrine proper.[116] The latter indicates that the scenes and inscriptions were worked on the gold sheets themselves. The sheets were hammered on the front side (which is termed chasing or embossing), thus sinking the metal to create raised relief. The gesso was poured,

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113   The text inscribed in five framed columns above the couple has been identified as an excerpted version of the Harpist's or banquet song. See H. Twiston Davies, "The Harpists' Songs at Saqqara: Transmission, Performance, and Contexts", in: N. Staring/H. Twiston Davies/L. Weiss (eds.), Perspectives on Lived Religion. Practices – Transmission – Landscape, Leiden 2019, 102–105.

114   Howard Carter object number 108, found in the antechamber of KV 62. It entered the Cairo Egyptian Museum as JE 61481. See: M. Eaton-Krauss/E. Graefe, The Small Golden Shrine of Tutankhamun, Oxford 1985. Not to be confused with the inner funerary shrine placed around the sarcophagus of the king, which is also referred to as the small golden shrine.

115   Compare to Gardiner Sign list O18, cf. Eaton-Krauss/Graefe, Small Golden Shrine, 2 with n. 10.

116   See Eaton-Krauss/Graefe, Small Golden Shrine, 2–3.

in liquid state, on the back so to create a support to the decoration of the gold. The making of the golden reliefs would thus have been the work of the goldsmith, not of the carpenter. The reason for displaying the shrine's production process so prominently in the tomb decoration seems obvious: the prestige of making such an item was something Ptahmay wished to be remembered for, and so he was keen on displaying it for all future visitors to his tomb.

While this is not an unlikely scenario, there are also obvious difficulties for the identification. First of all, the shrine depicted in the tomb of Ptahmay is rather generic, it does not show any of the decorated panels. There is also an issue with the shrine's actual size. The specimen from KV 62 measures 50.5 cm in height, whereas the one under construction in the tomb of Ptahmay has roughly the same height as the standing carpenter. Of course one may argue that the shrine was not depicted to scale, and that it was consciously depicted larger than life to emphasise its value. This still leaves us with another major problem, namely the date. Marianne Eaton-Krauss and Erhart Graefe suggest that the small golden shrine was made "some time subsequent to Tutankhamun's first regnal year", because the name-change had already taken place.[117] Even though the name change took place early in the reign, probably within the first year, it places the production of the golden shrine years after the moment when the decoration of the Saqqara tomb of Ptahmay was made. Thus, the golden shrine of Tutankhamun seems not a realistic option. These problems do not rule out the possibility that the tomb scene does in fact depict *a* royal shrine. It is possible that the shrine of Tutankhamun was modelled after an older one, made for Nefertiti and Akhenaten. The "awkward" position of the arm of the seated figure is indeed known from Amarna also. There are at least two examples of the pose, carved on stelae. Both depict Akhenaten as he supports his hand against the seat of his chair.[118] The fact that the position is used to depict the seated king on stelae that stood in the private sphere (as house altars), suggests that the iconography was inspired on more widely used royal iconography, perhaps in the decoration of the palace walls, although not necessarily the Amarna palace. For this study it is perhaps more of interest to point to a similar scene depicting the king seated and attaining the same pose in one of the rock-cut elite tombs at Amarna. The tomb of Huya (AT 01), the "steward of the Great Royal Wife Tiy" (*im.y-r pr n.y ḥm.t-nsw wr.t Tiy*), "overseer of the royal household" (*im.y-r ip.t nsw*), and "overseer of the treasury" (*im.y-r pr-ḥḏ*), contains a scene depicting the king, Akhentaten, seated vis-à-vis his mother, Tiy, while his wife, the queen Nefertiti, is seated behind him (Figure 10).[119] All three are drinking from cups provided by Huya and his staff. Thus, in this example, the scene depicts an activity that is linked directly to the tomb owner's professional life. Clearly he would have

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117 Eaton-Krauss/Graefe, Small Golden Shrine, 42. By comparing the proportions of the bodies to those in the tomb of Tutankhamun, they suggest that the shrine could even date towards the end of the king's reign. However, if N. Reeves, The Burial of Nefertiti? Amarna Royal Tombs Project, Valley of the Kings, Occasional Paper 1, Tucson 2015, is correct in claiming that the tomb decoration was initially prepared for Nefertiti rather than Tutankhamun, a date much earlier in the king's reign seems more likely.

118 The two examples are the naos-shaped family stela Cairo Egyptian Museum JE 44865, and round-topped stela Berlin Egyptian Museum ÄM 17813 (an unfinished stela, depicting an anonymous couple, thought to be Akhenaten and Nefertiti). For the two stelae, see e.g. Freed/Markowitz/D'Auria (eds.), Farao's van de zon, figs. 70, 138, respectively.

119 N. de G. Davies, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna, Part III. The Tombs of Huya and Ahmes, ASE 15, London 1905, plate 6.

been a regular at the palace – after all, it was his workplace – and the hypothetical model of this iconographic motif may have been at the palace.[120]

FIGURE 10   Drinking scene depicting Akhenaten and Nefertiti, seated, in the tomb of Huya at Amarna, AT 01 (photograph © Gregory Scott Reeder, 1981).

If the tomb of Ptahmay dates to the period before year 9 of Akhenaten, it is probably slightly earlier than Huya's, which then suggests that the motif and particular pose derive from Memphis instead of Amarna. The same can be argued for the motif decorating the small golden shrine of Tutankhamun. Here we need to consider the original use of the shrine. Eaton-Krauss and Graefe suggest that the iconographic programme of the small golden shrine is "intended to document Ankhesenamun's ideological role as Tutankhamun's queen, this being in turn the transposition of the wife's traditional role in ancient Egypt", and that "each panel may be understood as illustrating Ankhesenamun's supportive and sustaining function as Tutankhamun's spouse".[121] They also point to the repeated emphasis in the texts on the affection of the goddess Weret-Hekau toward both the king and queen, and suggest that these were meant to

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120 One wonders if the "overseer of sculptors of the Great Royal Wife Tiy", Iuty, who is depicted at work in his workshop, below the scene depicting Huya (Iuty's superior at this institution) receiving the "Gold of Honour" from the king, was in any way involved in the making of the relief decoration at this tomb, essentially making the inclusion of his depiction a self-portrait *in assistenza*.

121 EATON-KRAUSS/GRAEFE, Small Golden Shrine, 29–30. Previous interpretations are presented, and refuted, on pp. 25–28.

affirm the legitimacy of their joint rule. This observation then leads them to propose that the queen herself may have commissioned the manufacture of the shrine. It is not known where the shrine was displayed before it was deposited in the king's tomb. However, Eaton-Krauss and Graefe consider the possibility that it stood in a palace which, given the date, was likely the palace at Memphis. The palace would have included earlier decoration dated to before the reign of Tutankhamun. Precisely the Memphite palace of Tutankhamun offers a parallel to yet another scene included in the decoration programme of the small golden shrine.

V.4   DECORATION OF TUTANKHAMUN'S MEMPHITE PALACE TOWER FAÇADE

There are no archaeological remains of the Memphite palace of Tutankhamun – or any Memphite palace of the Eighteenth Dynasty, for that matter. However, a scene from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb provides us with an indication of what the façade would have looked like. A fragmentarily preserved portion of the south wall of Horemheb's peristyle courtyard, at its east end, includes a scene executed in raised relief. It depicts a Window of Appearances and the wall decoration flanking the window.[122] To the right-hand side of the window, there is a scene depicting the king, Tutankhamun, wearing the *khepresh* (or blue) crown and seated on a cushioned stool (or chair?) while he shoots a bow and arrow, taking aim at an ingot target. A female figure, undoubtedly the queen Ankhesenamun, squats at his feet while gazing up at him. Only the queen's head is preserved, so we cannot know whether she also sat upon a cushion, or what items she may have held in her hands. Recently, Raymond Johnson found out that the decoration programme of the Memphite palace tower façade has in fact a predecessor at Amarna.[123] A number of the *talatat* blocks that were transported from Amarna to Karnak in the reign of Ramesses II, preserve the fragments of a scene depicting Akhenaten and Kiya engaged in precisely the same activity. Johnson was further able to trace the motif back to the Old Kingdom. He showed that the scene decorating the palace façade was inspired by a scene from the Fifth Dynasty pyramid causeway of Sahure at Abusir.[124] The example shows that the iconographic motif travelled from the Memphite necropolis to Amarna and back again to Memphis, to the city and its necropolis.

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122 W. R. Johnson/Z. Hawass, "The Abusir Tutankhamun Relief Blocks: Origin and Context", in: J. van Dijk (ed.), Another Mouthful of Dust. Egyptological Studies in Honour of Geoffrey Thorndike Martin, OLA 246, Leuven 2016, 323–334. Martin, Tutankhamun's Regent, 24–29, scene [2], fig. 13, plates 11, 94.

123 W. R. Johnson, "A Royal Fishing and Fowling *Talatat* Scene from Amarna", in: The Akhenaten Sun 21/2, 2015, 14–24. I wish to thank Raymond Johnson for sending me a pdf copy of this article. More recently, Johnson held a lecture on the same subject, available online: W. R. Johnson, Medinet Habu and Tel el-Amarna: Tales of Blocks and Towers, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago Members Lecture, June 2020. Accessed on 19. 05. 2021. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VlNpJxw8uPk.

124 T. el-Awady, Sahure – The Pyramid Causeway: History and Decoration Program in the Old Kingdom, Abusir XVI, Prague 2009, plate 13. Also compare the clap net scene in the tomb of Hatiay, TT 324, which very closely resembles the example from the pyramid complex of Sahure, and which is dated to the reign of Horemheb: N. de G. Davies/A. H. Gardiner, Seven private tombs at Kurnah, MET 2, London 1948, plate 32. The scene is reproduced in the chapter by Gabriele Pieke in this volume, figure 27.

V.5   THE ADAPTATION OF ROYAL ICONOGRAPHY: A MOTIF IN THE TOMB OF INIUIA

The motif of the king hunting with bow and arrow has also been incorporated in the decoration programme of the small golden shrine.[125] In that scene, Tutankhamun can be seen shooting birds in the marshes as he sits on a cushioned folding stool. Ankhesenamun squats at his feet gazing up at him as she points with one finger at the birds while handing her husband an arrow with the other hand. The fact that scenes decorating multiple panels of the golden shrine are also found in the contemporary palace decoration, suggests that the iconography of either of the two inspired the other. It also gives credibility to the suggestion of Eaton-Krauss and Graefe that the golden shrine stood originally at the palace.

There are more luxury items bearing similar motifs to those discussed above. For example, the motif of the king shooting with a bow and arrow also decorates a side panel of an ornamental chest found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (Cairo JE 61477).[126] Moreover, the decoration
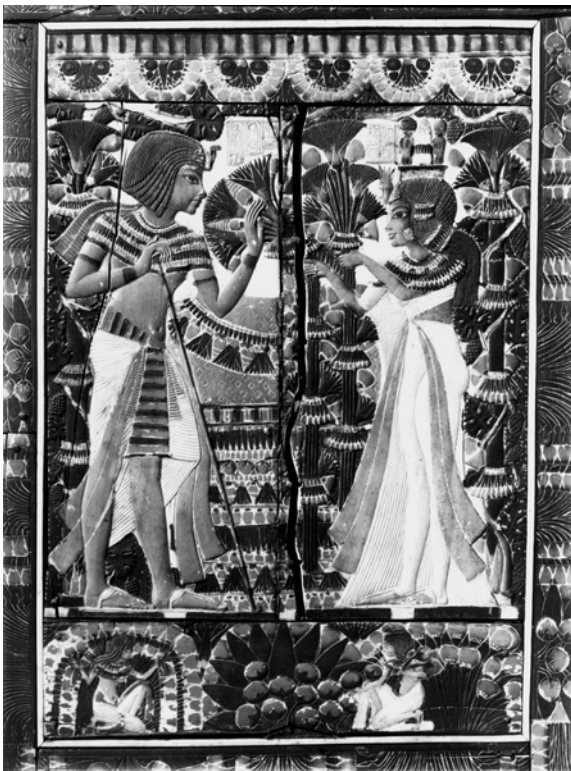

FIGURE 11   Ivory panel upon the lid of an ornamental chest (Cairo JE 61477) from the tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62), depicting the king standing *vis-à-vis* queen Ankhesenamun. Burton P1298 (photograph © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford).

FIGURE 12   Relief-decorated block from the tomb of Iniuia (Cairo TN 14. 6. 24.29), depicting the tomb owner standing *vis-à-vis* his wife Iuy (photograph © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden).

125   Side B, BR 3: Eaton-Krauss/Graefe, Small Golden Shrine, plate 15.
126   Carter no. 540; handlist description: "Lid of casket 551". See The Howard Carter Archives in The Griffith Institute, University of Oxford: http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/551.html (last accessed 21. 02. 2021). The object entered the Cairo Egyptian Museum as JE 61477.

FIGURE 13   Ptahmay leaning on a staff, assuming the "supporting leg and free leg posture". Detail of relief-decorated block TN 5. 7. 24.8 from the lost tomb of Ptahmay (photograph © The Martin New Kingdom Archive).
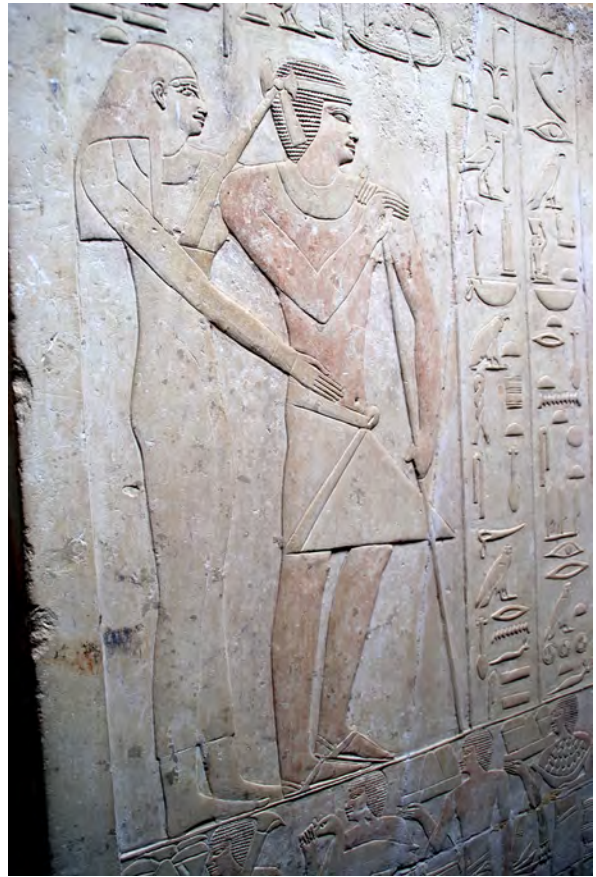

FIGURE 14   Tomb of Neferseshemptah, tomb owner leaning on a staff, assuming the "supporting leg and free leg posture" (photograph by the author).

of the ornamental chest offers yet another link to Memphis, more precisely to a private tomb at Saqqara. The ivory panel upon the chest's lid depicts Tutankhamun standing *vis-à-vis* Ankhesenamun against a background of flowers (Figure 11). The queen offers two bouquets of flowers, held in both her raised hands, to the king, who leans on his long staff by curving his right hand over the top, while raising his left hand.[127]

A close parallel for this scene can be found in the decoration of the tomb of Iniuia at Saqqara, located immediately south of the tomb of Horemheb.[128] Construction and decoration of the tomb started in the late Amarna and/or immediate post-Amarna period. The scene of interest is carved on a limestone slab originally placed against the west wall of the tomb chapel, on the left-hand side of the main tomb stela. It depicts Iniuia standing *vis-à-vis* his wife, Iuy (Fig-

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127   The panel is inlaid with ivory, ebony, faience, and calcite, and the knobs are of wood gesso-gilt.

128   The iconographic programme reveals two distinct styles that point to at least two stages in the execution of the relief decoration. The scenes in the inner chapel are certainly Amarnesque, but since one of his titles refers to Amun and his wife Iuy was a songstress of that god, it is unlikely that the art dates to the heyday of Atenism. The tomb was excavated by the former EES-Leiden archaeological mission and published as: SCHNEIDER, Tomb of Iniuia.

ure 12).[129] She offers her husband a bouquet of flowers, which she holds with her two raised hands. Iniuia responds by raising his right hand, while he leans on his shoulder-length staff by curving his left hand over the top.

It is possible, again, that the artist who carved the tomb scene took inspiration from contemporary palace decoration. Being a prominent court official, Iniuia would have been no stranger to the palace. However, in this particular case a direct link between the motif in private tomb decoration and the object from the tomb of Tutankhamun is also likely. To support the hypothesis, let us first consider Iniuia's titles-of-office.

Iniuia held three titles-of-office, as recorded in his tomb. He was a "scribe of the treasury of silver and gold of the Lord of the Two Lands" (*sš pr-ḥd n.y ḥd-nbw n.y nb t3.wy*), "overseer of cattle of Amun" (*im.y-r iḥ.w n.w Imn*), and "(great) steward of/in Memphis" (*im.y-r pr m/n.y Mn-nfr*). The first two titles were held concurrently when he started building and decorating the tomb, which included the scene just described. These titles indicate that Iniuia spent his professional career largely in the sphere of the state treasury, the department headed by Maya, whose tomb is located ca. 35 m to the north of Iniuia's. As we have noted earlier, Maya was responsible for assembling the objects deposited in the tomb of Tutankhamun, and the example of the small golden shrine shows that some objects may have come from, and were produced at Memphis. It is not unthinkable that a treasury official such as Iniuia may have seen the items produced for the king, perhaps even supervised the manufacture, and that he ordered the sculptors he contracted to decorate his private tomb to create a scene inspired on the royal example.

VI.   INSPIRATION FROM THE PAST: THE MOTIF OF THE TOMB OWNER LEANING ON A STICK

The example of the motif of the king shooting in the marches already pointed to inspiration from decoration in Old Kingdom monuments. Here I would like to bring to the fore another example, again from the relief-decorated tomb blocks of Ptahmay, the "head of makers of gold foil of the temple of Aten" (Figure 7). The scene in the bottom register includes another curious detail that deserves a closer look, and I would like to point the reader's attention to the position that Ptahmay assumes (Figure 13). The posture offers a clear example of the artist drawing inspiration from Old Kingdom tomb decoration. The depiction also allows us to link the tomb's iconographic programme and its commissioning patron to another tomb at Saqqara, located in the Unas South Cemetery, and to its owner.

Let us first focus on the motif. Ptahmay is depicted standing, leaning on a shoulder-length staff by curving his right hand over the top while he firmly grasps the staff with his left hand at a slightly lower position. He leans slightly forward and in so doing, positions his left foot on top of his right foot. This specific pose is sometimes referred to as "the owner leaning on a stick in the supporting leg and free leg posture", and it is well attested in the iconographic programmes of Memphite Old Kingdom mastaba tombs.[130]

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129   Block Cairo TN 14. 6. 24.29, situated on the left-hand side (south) of the stela. See Schneider, Tomb of Iniuia, 86–87, scene [19], fig. III.34, pl. 9 (with references to earlier publications).

130   So described in A. B. Lloyd/A. J. Spencer/A. el-Khouli, Saqqâra Tombs III. The Mastaba of Neferse-shemptah, EES ASM 41, London 2008, 18. The authors indicate, in n. 142, that the posture is rare.

Perhaps the best known examples of the posture at Saqqara are found in the mastaba of Neferseshemptah (Figure 14).[131] He was a high-ranking official of the Sixth Dynasty who married the daughter of king Teti, Seshseshet, and built a mastaba at the west end of the so-called *rue de tombeaux* in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, opposite the pyramid of queen Khuit (see Figure 2).[132] Despite the fact that there are more examples of the posture available at Old Kingdom Saqqara, I am drawing attention to this example in particular because the mastaba of Neferseshemptah lies at (or rather below) the centre of the later New Kingdom cemetery.[133] The location renders it possible that the wall decoration of this mastaba was seen in later times, and that it served as inspiration for the artists who created the iconographic programmes of New Kingdom tombs, including, perhaps, that of Ptahmay. It has been suggested that the group of tombs that Neferseshemptah was part of acquired something of a classic status already in the Old Kingdom. The decoration was imitated by artists in the contemporary provincial cemeteries of Meir, Deir el-Gebrawi, and El-Hawawish.[134] Therefore, it seems not too fat-fetched to suggest that the tomb decorators of the New Kingdom looked to the earlier decoration in the extant, nearby Old Kingdom mastabas that had attained a classic status – the more so since some of those decorators built their own tombs amidst precisely these classic mastaba tombs. One unmistakable example can be used to illustrate the practice. The decoration programme in the tomb of the Nineteenth Dynasty "scribe of the treasury of Ptah", Mose (Loret no. 5), includes an unambiguous example of a reference to an earlier, nearby Old Kingdom mastaba. The scene of the tomb owner painting (or rather writing) the seasons has been creatively copied from a scene depicted in the entrance doorway of the mastaba of Khentika called Ikheki, located a little southeast of Neferseshemptah, and ca. 50 m south of Mose.[135] Such examples indicate that the artists responsible for making the tomb art in the New Kingdom were very well acquainted with the decoration programmes of the Old Kingdom mastabas.

However, it is not difficult to find additional examples from Saqqara and Giza. An example from Saqqara includes a representation in the mastaba chapel of Hetepherakhty (Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden inv. no. F 1904/3.1-b) and the now-lost mastaba LS 31 of Ptahhotep (this tomb will be discussed further below). An example from Giza includes the mastaba G 2184 of Akhmerutnisut (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 13.4352). All examples cited date to the Fifth Dynasty. Further parallels are listed in Y. HARPUR, Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom, London/New York 1987, 181, 183, figs. 36–40 (also quoting earlier examples from the two sites).

131 LLOYD/SPENCER/EL-KHOULI, Mastaba of Neferseshemptah, 18–19, plates 17–18. See also Y. HARPUR, Decoration in Egyptian Tombs, 128.

132 J. CAPART, Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah, Brussels 1907, vol. 1, 63–76; vol. II, pls. 40–43.

133 By the time of the New Kingdom, the mastaba of Neferseshemptah was probably largely if not completely covered under a deposit of sand and rubble that had accumulated since the end of the Old Kingdom. The mastaba roof probably lay directly under the New Kingdom walking surface, as suggested by the few tomb shafts that were sunk through the deposit from above.

134 LLOYD/SPENCER/EL-KHOULI, Mastaba of Neferseshemptah, 2.

135 The scene also occurs in the entrance doorway of the tomb of Mereruka, which is located further west of the tomb of Mose. For the scene in the tomb of Mose and the Old Kingdom "models", see: G. PIEKE, "Lost in Transformation: Artistic Creation between Permanence and Change", in: T. GILLEN (ed.), (Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt, AegLeod 10, Liège 2017, 259–304; G. PIEKE, "'Der Blick zurück nach vorn'. Anmerkungen zur Grabdekoration des Mes in Saqqara", in: H. FRANZMEIER/T. REHREN/R. SCHULZ (eds.), Mit archäologischen Schichten Geschichte schreiben. Festschrift für Edgar B. Pusch zum 70. Geburtstag, Forschungen in der Ramses-Stadt 10, Hildesheim 2016, 219–243.

They demonstrated special interest in the art works of their ancient predecessors, and created new motifs and compositions based on the "classic" examples – although not exclusively based on the old motifs, of course. By making references to the classic artworks, the artists in a way inscribed themselves in the landscape that was already imbued with the past. Whether or not the tomb of Neferseshemptah served as an actual example for the representation in the tomb of Ptahmay cannot, and need not, be proved. In fact, it is unlikely that any one specific representation served as a model for the motif used in the scene of Ptahmay. The artist responsible for the latter probably drew from a common motif that would be recognizable as archaising more generally.

The pose assumed by Neferseshemptah is a variation of a much more commonly used motif depicting major figures (such as the tomb owner) associated with outdoor activities. Such activities include the owner overseeing agricultural work. This is precisely the sort of activity Neferseshemptah is engaged in, as we learn from the accompanying inscription in front of the standing owner: *mꜣ kꜣ.t nb.t nfr.t n.t sḫ.t ir.t m niw.t=f*, "seeing/inspecting all the good works of the fields which are done in his towns". It has been argued that the scene of Ptahmay is also set outdoors, and thus the pose neatly fits with the outside setting. It suggests that the artist consciously selected the motif to match the context. Interestingly, the only additional New Kingdom parallel for the pose that I am aware of, at Saqqara, likewise depicts the tomb owner outdoors. In his tomb, the owner Ptahemwia, a "royal butler" (*wbꜣ nsw*), can be seen inspecting cattle and works on the fields (Figure 15; for the tomb's location, see Figure 3). Ptahemwia was the necropolis neighbour of Meryneith and officiated in the time of Akhenaten and Tutankhamun. The scene in question is fragmentarily preserved.[136] It is situated in the upper register of the middle section of the courtyard north wall. The scene depicts the tomb owner, Ptahemwia, inspecting cattle. He stands facing right as various individuals and bovids approach from the right. The group of individuals and animals depart from a stretch of water (depicted as a raised block) upon which the remains of a boat and mooring post are visible.

Like Ptahmay, the artist responsible for laying out the decoration programme in the tomb of Ptahemwia availed himself of an Old Kingdom motif. I would like to argue that there is more than just the use of the Old Kingdom motif that links the two tombs. The selection of precisely this motif opens up the possibility that the main conceptual artist (the *sš ḳd.w*) who worked for Ptahemwia[137] was in fact the same individual who worked in the tomb of Ptahmay. The two tombs do not just share the rare example of the supporting leg and free leg posture to depict the tomb owner in an outdoor setting. The two tombs also share another iconographic theme. It is the drinking scene with musicians (Figure 16), which in Theban tombs is often associated with banquets.[138] In the tomb of Ptahmay, the scene includes a number details that can also be observed in a scene included in the decoration programme of the tomb of Ptahemwia. In

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136 RAVEN, Ptahemwia and Sethnakht, 84–85, scene [12.I], with photographs on pp. 86, 90, and line drawings on pp. 88–89.

137 Note that the work of the *sš ḳd.w*, Outline Scribe, in the tomb of Ptahemwia is very clearly visible on the north end of the east wall of the courtyard. The scenes on that wall are largely laid out in red ink, while the sculptor made a start with incising and cutting the scenes in sunk relief. See: RAVEN, Ptahemwia and Sethnakht, 94–99, scenes [15–16].

138 For an overview, see e.g. M. HARTLEY, "The Eighteenth Dynasty Banquet: A Portal to the Gods", in: BACE 23, 2012, 25–44.

FIGURE 15   Tomb of Ptahemwia, tomb owner leaning on a staff, assuming the "supporting leg and free leg posture" (photograph © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden/Anneke de Kemp).
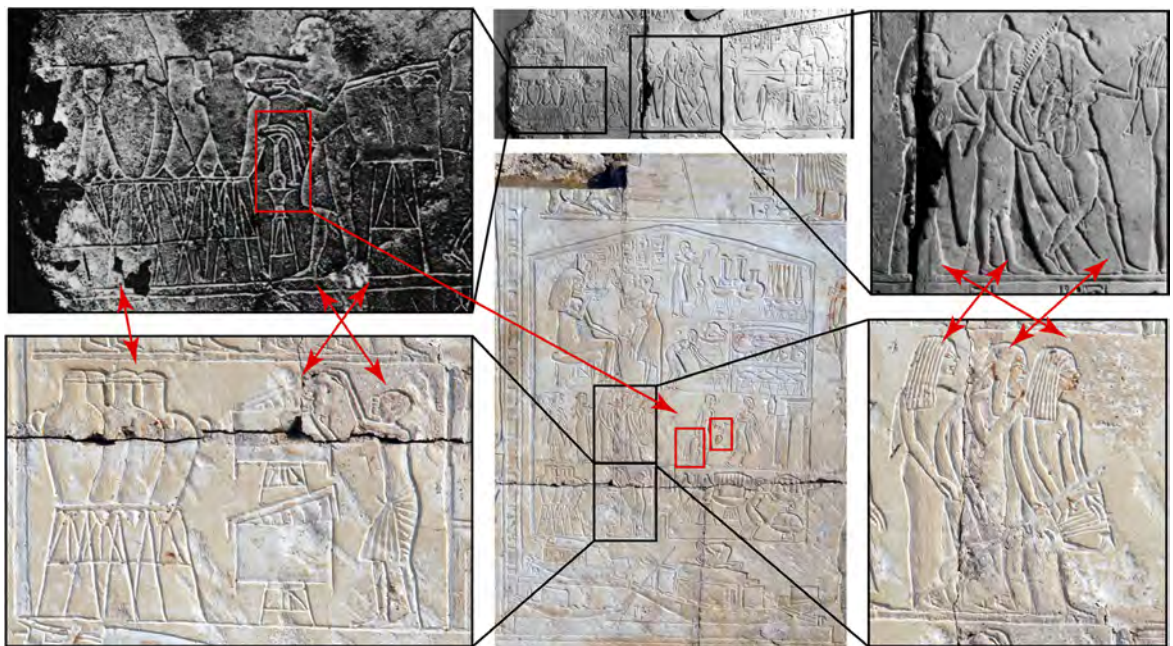

FIGURE 16   Iconographic correspondences between the drinking scenes in the tombs of Ptahmay (left) and Ptahemwia (right) (photograph Ptahmay © The Martin New Kingdom Archive, photograph Ptahemwia © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden/Anneke de Kemp, adapted by the author).

the latter's tomb, the scene is depicted right below the depiction of the tomb owner leaning on his staff. The scene is centred on his wife, Maia, who is seated on a chair inside a tent-like structure.[139] If we compare the two scenes from the tombs of Ptahmay and Ptahemwia, we note that the actors, such as the musicians, the servant pouring a drink (in the example of

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139   Compare the tent to examples depicted in the nearby and partly contemporary tomb of Horemheb: Martin, Tutankhamun's Regent, 36–37, scene [17], plates 17, 98 (joining blocks Berlin ÄM 20363 and Bologna KS 1888; from the north wall of the first peristyle courtyard).

Ptahmay a female; in the example of Ptahemwia a male individual), and the servant occupied in a store-room, are all arranged differently, and that the individual elements (including the exact same pieces of furniture) are further combined with other elements to create two distinct compositions. In the case of Ptahmay, the scene resembles the more traditional banquet scene so well-known from Theban examples,[140] whereas the case of Ptahemwia creates a more exceptional scene featured in an architectural setting, and incorporated in a larger composition that relates to the tomb owner, Ptahemwia, performing the functions of his office.[141] To bear out the hypothesis that indeed the same artist worked on the two tombs, a more in-depth stylistic analysis is required. Even if the decoration in the two tombs proves to have been made by two different artists, it remains highly likely that they were aware of each other's work. Ptahemwia and Ptahmay were contemporaries and their tombs were decorated at around the same time, in the reign of Akhenaten.[142] Moreover, Ptahemwia was the necropolis neighbour of Meryneith, who in turn was Ptahmay's superior in the temple of Aten. Thus potentially, they would all have had access to the same tomb builders and decorators, if indeed access to material and human resources was organised along socio-professional lines, as suggested at the beginning of this chapter.

VII.   FROM SAQQARA TO AMARNA AND BACK AGAIN: THE JOURNEY OF AN ICONOGRAPHIC THEME

VII.1   AN OLD KINGDOM MODEL FOR NEW KINGDOM TOMB ART?

The Unas South Cemetery at Saqqara used to hold an extensive Old Kingdom mastaba field. Nowadays few material traces of the erstwhile cemetery remain visible in the landscape. The disappearance of the old cemetery is the result of the continued use of the place through to the New Kingdom. For example, some of the New Kingdom tombs, such as that of Horemheb and Maya, utilised pre-existing Old Kingdom tomb shafts. It indicates that complete superstructures were demolished. The building materials were reused locally. Thus, many of the

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140 A close parallel to the more "traditional" banquet scene can be found in the iconographic programme of the now-lost tomb of the "merchant" (*šw.ty*), Merya (Quibell S 2727), that stood in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (see Figure 2). See J. E. QUIBELL/A. G. K. HAYTER, Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid, North Side, Cairo 1927, 11, 36–37, plates 16–18. The hieroglyphic inscription accompanying the banquet scene can be identified as a Harpist's Song, see: TWISTON DAVIES, in STARING/TWISTON DAVIES/WEISS (eds.), Perspectives, 105–107. Merya can be dated, on stylistic grounds, to the late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun. Thus, his banquet scene might have been inspired on the example from the tomb of Ptahmay that, in my opinion, was located nearby. With regards to the scene of Merya, one may also point to the close similarities displayed by the group of female musicians.

141 Depicted to the right-hand side of the scene detail included in Figure 15. It depicts Ptahemwia standing at the centre of the scene inspecting agricultural work. See RAVEN, Ptahemwia and Sethnakht, 84–91, scene [12].

142 Like his necropolis neighbour, Meryneith, the relief-decorated walls in the tomb of Ptahemwia were executed in the reign of Akhenaten, starting after year 5, and continued into the early reign of Tutankhamun. The scene under discussion belongs to the first phase, i.e. the reign of Akhenaten. For a discussion, see: RAVEN, Ptahemwia and Sethnakht, 31–34.

limestone blocks with which the New Kingdom tombs were built, were sourced from extant, nearby mastabas. Today the most visible remnant of the Old Kingdom cemetery is the massive stone-built mastaba of Minnofer, a Vizier of the Fifth Dynasty.[143] The structure towers high above the surrounding cluster of tombs built for Ramesside dignitaries. The early 19th century explorers of the archaeological site saw more extensive material remains of the old cemetery. For example, in 1843, the Prussian expedition led by Carl Richard Lepsius partly excavated a stone-built mastaba that was subsequently numbered LS 31 (Figure 3).[144] The tomb belonged to another Vizier, Ptahhotep, who probably lived close to the reign of Unas.[145]

Based upon the map produced by Lepsius's expedition, the mastaba was located ca. 100 m northwest of the tomb of Maya. The latter tomb was also indicated on the same map, and was re-excavated more than 140 years later. The tomb of Maya was largely built with reused limestone blocks, some of them still bearing Old Kingdom relief decoration. The stones used in the tomb's construction were likely quarried from older structures located in the near vicinity. The builders of Maya's tomb were not alone in reusing Old Kingdom building material.[146] The practice may in fact have been much more common than can be proved today.[147] If the practice of quarrying in Old Kingdom tombs was so widespread, it is all the more exceptional that the tomb of Ptahhotep survived almost intact. The state of preservation also renders it hypothetically possible that certain New Kingdom artists and commissioning patrons of private tombs visited the decorated interior spaces of the mastaba superstructure. If this happened, it would also make for a plausible scenario that certain motifs, scenes, or larger portions of the iconographic programme came to serve as a model for later tomb art.

A number of the scenes depicted in the tomb of Ptahhotep focus on the activities that are closely linked to some of the most prominent offices held by the tomb owner (Figure 17).[148] He served, for example, as "overseer of the double granary" (*im.y-r šnw.ty*), and various activities related to this office are prominently displayed on the tomb walls. The entire east wall of the pillared hall is decorated with scenes depicting the tomb owner either seated or standing as he oversees the measuring of grain and grain silos, and various wooden rowing boats transporting assorted items, including livestock. The scenes that cover the opposite west wall depict Ptahhotep standing as he oversees at least three registers with men presenting bulls, and at least five registers depicting scenes of cattle breeding, i.e. men hand-feeding domestic cattle and desert animals.

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143 S. Tawfik, "Recently Excavated Ramesside Tombs at Saqqara 1. Architecture", in: MDAIK 47, 1991, 404, fig. 1 (opposite p. 408). The sarcophagus of Minnofer is today held in the collection of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Leiden, inv. no. AM 6: A. E. J. Holwerda/P. A. A. Boeser, Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling I: De monumenten van het Oude Rijk, Leiden 1905, plate 30.

144 L*D* Text, I, 185–186.

145 PM III/2, 653–654, as middle of the Fifth Dynasty, or later; A. Cooke, The Architecture of Mastaba Tombs in the Unas Cemetery, Leiden 2020, 164–165, as late Fifth or early Sixth Dynasty.

146 Staring, in Hagen/Soliman/Olsen (eds.), Tomb Construction, in press.

147 For the simple reason that many of the blocks can no longer be recognised as "Old Kingdom", for example because the once-decorated surfaces were removed when reused.

148 The titles are listed in four framed columns of hieroglyphs inscribed on the four pillars in the pillared hall: L*D*, II, pl. 103.
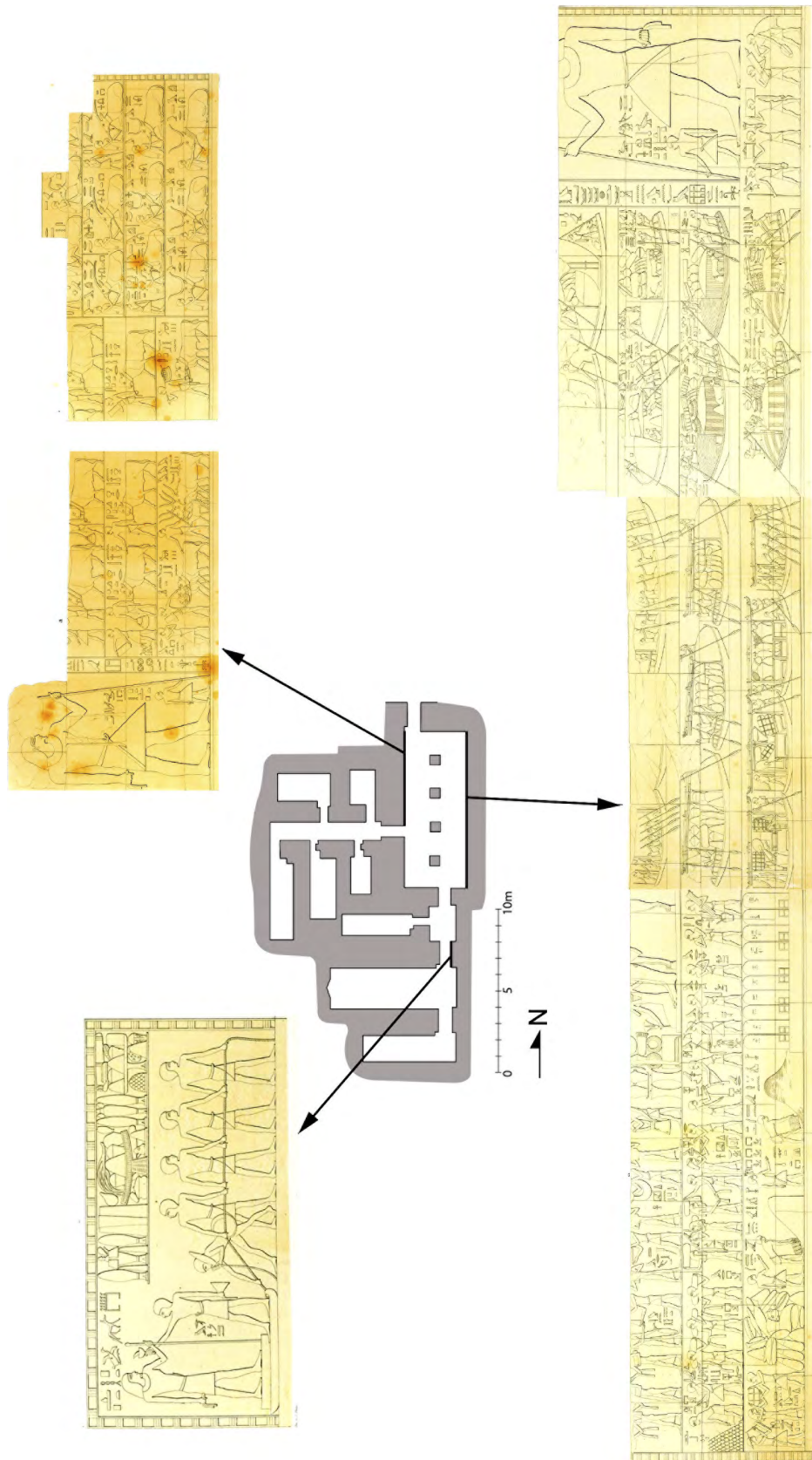
FIGURE 17 Plan and select scenes from the iconographic programme of the mastaba tomb of Ptahhotep, LS 31 (image after LD II, plates 102–104, adapted by the author).
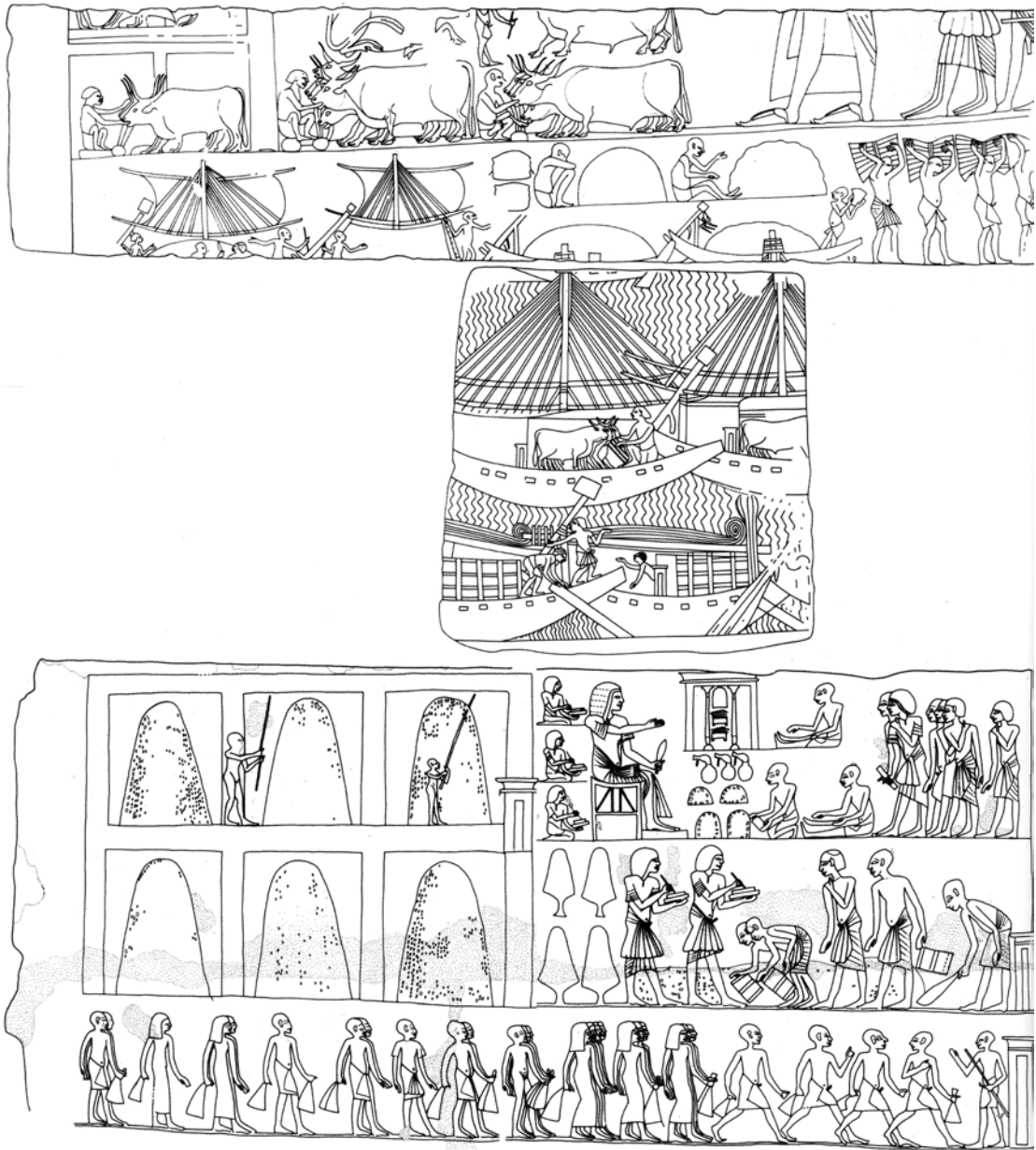
FIGURE 18   Relief decoration in the tomb of Meryneith, south wall, west end: scenes depicting cattle breeding, measuring grain and grain silos, and boats transporting assorted goods (image after RAVEN/VAN WALSEM, Tomb of Meryneith, scene [17], line drawings by Dorothea Schulz).

The (sub-)themes just described are, of course, not exclusively found in the Old Kingdom in the iconographic programme of the tomb of Ptahhotep.[149] While acknowledging the broader distribution of such representations at Saqqara, it is still interesting to note that the same

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149 See the entries in R. VAN WALSEM, Mastabase: A Research Tool for the Study of the Secular or 'Daily Life' Scenes and Their Accompanying Texts in the Elite Tombs of the Memphite Area in the Old Kingdom, Leuven 2008.

iconographic themes were included in the tomb decoration of Meryneith. The two tombs are located in the same general area of the necropolis, merely 150 m apart. It is remarkable that the scenes depicting cattle breeding, measuring grain and grain silos, and boats transporting assorted goods are arranged in three superimposed registers, featuring prominently on the south wall of the courtyard (Figure 18).[150] Did the tomb of Ptahhotep serve as a model for (part of) the iconographic programme of the tomb of Meryneith? Of course one should be careful when suggesting such a direct link. First of all, the similarities might just be pure coincidence, and there are no specific details that could further substantiate the hypothetical link to this particular Old Kingdom mastaba. Nevertheless, it would not be unthinkable that certain prominent tombs in the local funerary landscape – tombs that were lavishly decorated moreover – continued to receive visitors and, as a result, inspired people in creating new tomb art in later times.[151] Meryneith may have demonstrated a special interest in the decoration of the tomb of Ptahhotep because the scenes in the pillared room depict activities that were very closely related to his own office and the reality of his daily work environment. Such a personal relationship may have led Meryneith to instruct the main conceptual artist to create a similar iconographic programme for his tomb – if not it were the artist who proposed the idea to Meryneith.[152]

VII.2   FROM SAQQARA TO AMARNA AND BACK AGAIN

Whatever the precise circumstances and reasoning for including the scenes in his Memphite tomb might have been, it seems that they were important enough for Meryneith to "take with him" to Akhetaten.[153] A selection of the iconographic themes seen in the Saqqara tomb feature again in the rock-cut tomb he started to build in the new capital (Figure 19).[154] It should be stressed that the scenes depicting the hand-feeding of domestic animals and the mooring of transport boats were not copied from his first tomb. The scenes were rather reinterpreted and used to create an altogether new composition as part of a larger representation of the Aten temple at Akhetaten. The scene centres not on the tomb owner, now known as Meryre, but on the royal couple – as was customary in the decoration of the tombs of court officials at Amarna. The king takes centre stage in the iconographic programmes of private individuals and, in a sense, takes the place of the tomb owner in the scenes that illustrate the latter's profession. The tomb owner is also present, depicted at a smaller scale and not actively engaged in his supervisory role. Instead, he received the "Gold of Honour" in the presence of the royal couple.

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150 Raven/Van Walsem, The Tomb of Meryneith, 101–104, scene [17].

151 The inspiration might have been direct, i.e. purposely copying motifs, or indirect, i.e. (un-)consciously working from memory.

152 Unfortunately, we are rather ill-informed about the interplay between the tomb owner, patron (or both; as commissioning patron), and artist, certainly as far as the Memphite New Kingdom tombs are concerned. We also know very little about the decoration programmes of tombs pre-dating Meryneith, and so we cannot positively say whether the scenes displayed on his tomb walls represent a tradition established earlier in the New Kingdom.

153 The question is: how did he take the motif with him? In the form of a sketch on an ostracon? Or was it recreated from memory, perhaps?

154 Davies, The Tomb of Meryra, pl. 25.
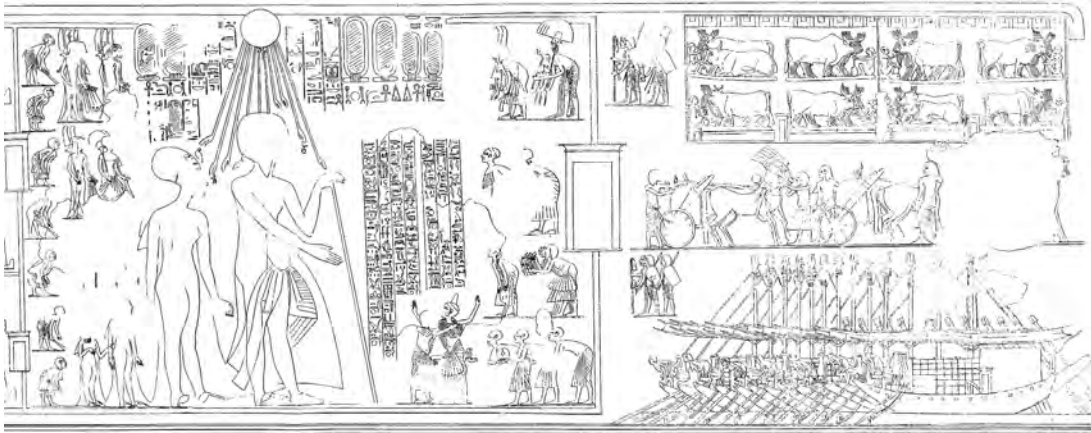
FIGURE 19 The royal couple, standing in front of the Aten temple, awards Meryre with the "Gold of Honour". Tomb of Meryre, Amarna, TA 04 (image after N. DE G. DAVIES, Tomb of Meryra, plate 25, detail of lower register, right-hand side).

FIGURE 20 Iniuia supervising the unloading of amphorae from boats. Tomb of Iniuia, north wall of inner chapel, relief-decorated block Cairo TN 25. 6. 24 (photograph © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden).

Meryre never finished his Amarna tomb and he moved back to Memphis when Akhenaten's newly-built capital was abandoned early in the reign of Tutankhamun. Interestingly, part of the Amarna tomb moved northward also, although not literally, of course. I am referring to a scene decorating the north wall of the inner chapel of the tomb of Iniuia, the official whom we have met earlier in connection with Tutankhamun's ornamental chest. The scenes depicted on the north wall pertain to the tomb owner's professional life,[155] and one scene depicts Iniuia supervising the unloading of amphorae from boats (Figure 20).[156] This particular scene displays a striking similarity with the scene from Meryneith's tomb at Amarna, just described (Figure 19). A comparison between the two reveals that Iniuia takes the exact same position as Akhenaten in the tomb scene of Meryre. He leans on his long staff-of-office by positioning his left hand over the top, while he extends his right hand to indicate speech. While Akhenaten directs his speech to the smaller-scale image of Meryre, Iniuia can be seen conversing with the scribes involved in the unloading of the boats. Scribes are also present in Meryre's tomb scene, where they are busily scribbling on sheets of papyrus held in front of them as they report to the king. The three overlapping scribes of Meryre are reduced to a single scribe in the tomb of Iniuia. The scribe takes a different pose and is inverted. The boats that present just one element of the larger composition in the tomb of Meryre are the main focus of activity in the tomb scene of Iniuia. While the correspondences between the two scenes are unmistakable, we are not dealing with a copy. Rather, certain motifs were selected and rearranged to create a new composition. The very presence of this scene in the tomb of Iniuia implies that he, or the artist responsible for creating the scene (or both), was/were familiar with the decoration of the Amarna tomb of Meryre. This is perhaps not too surprising since, as we have noted before, Meryre returned to Memphis and resumed construction and decoration of his Saqqara tomb. Did the same artist who worked on the Amarna tomb continue work on the Saqqara tomb of Meryneith? If so, the same individual might have been contracted to work on the nearby and contemporary tomb of Iniuia as well. The suggestion gains credibility if we consider that two of Iniuia's sons, Penanhori and Ramose, were employed at the Memphite temple of Aten, working as scribes of the treasury (*sš pr-ḥḏ n.y pr ʾItn*). They were colleagues of Meryneith, who was their superior, and their professional affiliation may have provided the family with access to the same resources, both material and human.

The journey of the iconographic motif of the king leaning on a staff and addressing his subordinates, later changing context and adapted for use in tomb scenes illustrating the professional life of the private commissioning patron, did not end at the tomb of Iniuia. To the contrary: artisans responsible for the creation of tomb decoration in later times continued to integrate it in new compositions. Albeit not a copy, the specific posture of the tomb owner leaning on a staff and addressing his subordinates, as used in the tomb of Khay, a late Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasty "gold washer" (*iꜥ.w nbw*) and "troop commander of merchants of the treasury of the King, l.p.h." (*ḥr.y pḏ.t n.y šw.ty n.y pr-ḥḏ [n.y] pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥnḫ.w wḏꜣ.w snb.w*), may well have been inspired on the locally available "model" offered by the tomb of

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155   The titles associated with Iniuia in this scene are: "royal scribe" (*šs nsw*) and "overseer of the cattle of Amun (*im.y-r iḥ.w n.y ʾImn*).

156   This block is today housed in the Cairo Egyptian Museum, TN 25. 6. 24. 7. SCHNEIDER, Tomb of Iniuia, 90–93, fig. III.37, scene [22a].

FIGURE 21   The iconographic motif of the tomb owner at his professional duties: Khay supervising metal working (after Martin, Three Memphite Officials, scene [7], bottom register, plate 11, reproduced with kind permission of the Egypt Exploration Society).

Iniuia (Figure 21).[157] His modest tomb-chapel is located in the Unas South Cemetery, wedged between the west ends of the tombs of Horemheb and Ramose (see Figure 3), very near the tomb of Iniuia, where it was built more than 150 years after the Amarna period. Khay may have consciously "copied" this motif of the tomb owner at his office inspecting subordinates, to make explicit reference to an illustrious senior treasury official from the past. This would make the motif what Alexis Den Doncker calls an "identifying-copy".[158] He introduced the term to refer not to instantiations or repetitions of standard iconographic motifs, but rather to "images copied from models that carry with them a strong individual(ity) standing for an ideal socio-professional achievement".

VIII.   FINAL THOUGHTS

The research project Continuity, Discontinuity, and Change premises that

> "…one obvious means in which to observe and probe the dynamics and interaction of conti-nuity, discontinuity and change within an ancient society, such as Egypt, is by focusing on cult and religion as a crucial manner by which a community identifies and formulates itself. The individual, as well as communities or the society as a whole, expresses its (religious) identity in tangible forms, such as architecture, text and image."[159]

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157   G. T. Martin, The Tombs of Three Memphite Officials: Ramose, Khay and Pabes, London 2001.
158   Den Doncker, in Gillen (ed.), (Re-)productive Traditions, 339.
159   See the introduction to this volume.

At ancient Egyptian cemetery sites – such as Saqqara – the tomb structures represent the tangible forms of religious identity. An inscription in the tomb of Tia, the Nineteenth Dynasty "overseer of the treasury", states that the king, Ramesses II, built the tomb as a temple for his father Osiris.[160] The tomb at Saqqara should therefore not be seen simply as a grave marker, but as a monument that provided its owner with a place to be close to the gods and worship them in perpetuity. This chapter focused on various aspects related to the making of the private tombs, the tangible forms of religious identity at a necropolis. We may refer to these tangible forms of religion with the term instantiation.[161] The term signals a shift of focus from the (religious) agents to the (material) form and content of their actions. One key aspect of instantiation, or the making of some action manifest as "religious action", is inherently a matter of (access to) resources – both imaginative (i.e. knowledge) and material. The uneven distribution of resources within a population, as was evidently the case in ancient Egyptian society, naturally creates differences in religious instantiation. Access to material and human resources is determined to a large degree by (professional) affiliation, rank, and proximity to the king, but also by one's (position within or access to a) socio-professional network. As such, instantiation can be used to further probe the patronage system that commissioned the private tomb structures in the Memphite New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara, as the various case studies discussed in this chapter have shown. One's position within or access to a socio-professional network also had its effects on the transmission of iconographic motifs. With the (temporary) move of the capital to Amarna, iconographic traditions travelled along with the relocating population. Iconographic motifs that had originated from Memphis blended with traditions from elsewhere, including from Thebes, and when people moved back from Amarna to their towns of origin, such as Memphis, new ideas hopped along with them, bringing about a continuity of artistic traditions that had changed along the way.

APPENDIX

SAQQARA TOMBS OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY, LOCATION ARCHAEOLOGICALLY ATTESTED

Key to the tables
Titles:
    [A] Related to the king, royal court, and government (including honorific)
    [B] General administration
    [C] Scribal
    [D] Works, arts
    [E] Sacerdotal
    [F] Military

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160 MARTIN, Tia and Tia.
161 Terminology practiced in the field of Lived Ancient Religion, which shifts focus from the study of institutionalised religious practices to how religion is practiced and experienced by people in their daily lives: J. ALBRECHT/C. DEGELMANN/V. GASPARINI/R. GORDON/M. PATZELT/G. PETRIDOU/ R. RAJA/A.-K. RIEGER/J. RÜPKE/B. SIPPEL/E. RUBENS URCIUOLI/L. WEISS, "Religion in the Making: The Lived Ancient Religion Approach", in: Religion 48, 2018, 568–593. Accessed on 23. 01. 2021. https://doi.org/10.1080/0048721X.2018.1450305.

Tomb no. / Object inv. no.	Name	Titles	Date
Stela Berlin ÄM 7320 (Lepsius, 1843)	Amenma	Guardian of the house of his majesty [B] *sȝw.ty n.y pr ḥm=f*	Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III
Loret no. 6	Mahu	Chief guardian of the treasury of Memphis [B] *ḥr.y sȝw.ty pr.w-ḥḏ n.y Mn-nfr ; nḏ snṯr n.y Ỉmn.w-Rꜥ.w n.y nṯr.w nb.w Ỉnb.w-ḥḏ n.y psḏ.t n.y pr.w-nsw ; sȝw.ty pr.w-ḥḏ*	
Loret shaft no. 6 (?)	Nebansu	Guardian of the "Splendour of the Aten" [B] *sȝw.ty n.y itn-tḫn*	Amenhotep III, second half
Hawass, 1990s	Neferher	Unknown	Amenhotep III
Loret shaft no. 52	Tjay	Unknown	Amenhotep III

TABLE 1 Pre-Amarna freestanding tomb chapels in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery

Tomb no.	Name	Titles	Date
Bub. I.1	Aper-El	Vizier [A] *ir.y-pꜥ.t ḥȝ.ty-ꜥ smr wꜥ.ty sḏȝ.wty-bi.ty* [B] *im.y-r niw.t ṯȝ.ty ; wpw.ty nsw ; ḥrp ip.t-sw n.t nb tȝ.wy ; ḥrd n.y kȝp* [E] *it-nṯr ; bȝk tp.y n.y Ỉtn*	Amenhotep III–Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten
Bub. I.3	Resh	Chamberlain; Child of the Nursery [A] *[ꜥȝ n.y] bꜥḥ n.y nsw ; ꜥȝ n.y pr /// nb Ỉwny ; ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr* [B] *im.y-r ꜥḥnw.ty ; ḥrd n.y kȝp ; ṯȝy-sry.t nȝ n.w ḥrd.w n.w kȝp* [F] *ꜥȝ n.y ḥꜥ.w n.y sbȝ m Mn-nfr ; nfw n.y Mr.y-Ỉmn ; ḥr.y iḥ.w ; ḥr.y pd.t*	Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III
Bub. I.6	Nehesy	Chancellor [A] *iwn knm(w).t ; ir.y-pꜥ.t ḥȝ.ty-ꜥ ; mḥ-ib /// ; mḥ-ꜥnḫ.wy ḥr m Mȝꜥ.t ; mdw n.y nsw m wꜥ.w ; mdw rḥy.t ; ḥḳȝ bȝt ; smiw bȝk.(w)t tȝ.wy ḥrp.(w)t Šmꜥ Mḥ.w ; smr wꜥ.ty ; sḏȝ.wty-bi.ty* [B] *im.y-r ḥtm.w ; ḥȝ.ty-ꜥ ḥrp ns.ty ; ḥḳȝ bȝt*	Hatshepsut–Thutmosis III (?)
Bub. I.10	Ptahankh	?	Amenhotep III?
Bub. I.13	Seth/Setesh	Royal butler [A] *ir.y-pꜥ.t ḥȝ.ty-ꜥ ; smr wꜥ.ty ; mr /// ; /// mr.y nb=f* [B] *wbȝ nsw ; wbȝ nsw wꜥb ꜥ.wy*	Amenhotep III–Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten
Bub. I.19	Thutmosis	Chief outline draughtsman in the Place of Truth [D] *ḥr.y sš ḳdw.t ; ḥr.y sš ḳdw.t m S.t-Mȝꜥ.t ; sš ḳdw.t*	Amenhotep III–Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten
Bub. II.4	Meryre	Steward of his majesty [A] *ir.y-pꜥ.t ḥȝ.ty-ꜥ; r ꜥḥ ; smr wꜥ.ty ; sḏȝ.wty-bi.ty* [B] *im.y-r pr n.y ḥm=f ti sw m inpw ; im.y-r pr-ḥḏ ; im.y-r mnꜥ.t ; im.y-r mnꜥ.t n.t nṯr nfr ; im.y-r pr.w n.y nsw ti sw m inpw* [C] *sš nsw n.y nb tȝ.wy ; sš nsw ḥr.y-tp*	Amenhotep III
Bub. II.x	Ptahmose	Scribe of the cadastre [C] *sš tmȝ.t*	Amenhotep III

TABLE 2 Pre-Amarna rock-cut tombs in the southern cliff of the later Bubasteion

Tomb No. / Object inv. no.	Name	Titles	Date
Hawass 1990s + stela Cairo JE 10174 = CG 34182	Huy	Head of merchants of the temple of the Aten [D] ḥr.y šw.tyw n.w t3 ḥw.t p3 ʾItn ; šw.ty n.y t3 ḥw.t p3 ʾItn	Akhenaten, late–Tutankhamun, early
Hawass 1990s	Pakharu	Chief of goldworkers [D] ḥr.y nby.w	Tutankhamun
Hawass 1990s + stela Cairo TN 2.11.24.1	Hatiay	Chief of craftsmen of Ptah [D] ḥm.w n.y Ptḥ ; ḥr.y (n.y) ḥmw.w n.w Ptḥ	Tutankhamun
Hawass 1990s + stela Cairo JE 25641	Hatiay	Chief of makers of lapis lazuli (of the king) [D] ḥr.y ir.w ḫsbd (n nb t3.wy)	Tutankhamun–Horemheb (?)
Hawass 1990s	Ipy	Overseer of honey production of the temple of Amun [B] ḥr.y bi.tyw n.y pr ʾImn	Tutankhamun
Loret no. 2	Amenemone	Overseer of craftsmen of the Lord of the Two Lands / Chief of goldsmiths of the king [D] im.y-r ḥmw.t n.t nb t3.wy ; ḥr.y nbw.w n.w nb t3.wy	Tutankhamun
Quibell S2730 + S2736 (?)	Apuia	Overseer of craftsmen / Chief of goldsmiths of the king [D] im.y-r ḥmw.w ; ḥr.y nby.w ; ḥr.y nbw.w n.w nb t3.wy	Tutankhamun
Quibell S2727	Merya (Meryhor)	Merchant [B] šw.ty	Tutankhamun
Lepsius LS 12 = Quibell S2735	Huy	Scribe of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands [A] ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr [C] sš mšꜥ n.y nb t3.wy ; sš nsw ; sš nsw n.y nb t3.wy	Tutankhamun–Horemheb
Loret no. 1	Ahmose	Scribe of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands [C] sš mšꜥ n.y nb t3.wy	Tutankhamun–Horemheb
Hawass 1990s	Neferrenpet	"Controller of the morning house"	Late Eighteenth / early Nineteenth Dynasty
Hawass 1990s	Djehuty-emheb	Royal Scribe [A] ///ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr [C] sš nsw	Late Eighteenth / early Nineteenth Dynasty

TABLE 3 Amarna and post-Amarna Eighteenth Dynasty freestanding tomb chapels in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery

Tomb no.	Name	Titles	Date
Bub. I.5	Merysekhmet	Overseer of the double granary of the Lord of the Two Lands **[B]** *im.y-r šnw.ty n.y nb t3.wy ; ḥ3.ty-ʿ wr n.y nsw*	Late Eighteenth / early Nineteenth Dynasty
Bub. I.20	Maia	Royal nurse **[B]** *wr.t ẖnr.t ; mnʿ.t nsw.t*	Tutankhamun
Bub. I.27	Hatiay/Raiay	Scribe of the Treasury of the Temple of the Aten in Akhetaten (and) in Memphis **[C]** *sš pr-ḥḏ n.y pr Itn m 3ḫ.t-Itn m Mn-nfr*	Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten–Tutankhamun

TABLE 4 Amarna and post-Amarna rock-cut tombs in the southern cliff of the later Bubasteion

Tomb no. / Object inv. no.	Name	Titles	Date
Mariette H9 ; Leiden mission 2001	Mery(ty)neith/re	**[B]** *im.y-r pr ; im.y-r pr n.y pr Itn ; im.y-r pr n.y pr Itn m Mn-nfr* **[C]** *sš n.y pr Itn m 3ḫ.t-Itn m Mn-nfr ; sš nsw* **[D]** *im.y-r k3.t nsw* **[E]** *wr m3.w n.y p3 Itn ; wr m3.w n.y p3 Itn m pr Itn ; ḥm-nṯr tp.y m ḥw.t N.t*	Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten– Tutankhamun
Leiden mission 2007	Ptahem-wia	Royal Butler **[A]** *ir.y-pʿ.t ḥ3.ty-ʿ ; wr m ʿḥ=f ; mr.y nb=f ; mrr.ty n.y nb t3.wy ; ḥr.y sšt3 n W3ḏ.ty ; ḥs.y ʿ3 n.y nṯr nfr ; r shrr m t3 r ḏr=f ; smr wʿ.ty ; sḏ3w.ty-bi.ty* **[B]** *wb3 nsw wʿb ʿ.wy*	Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten– Tutankhamun
EES/Leiden mission 1975	Horem-heb	Regent / General-in-chief of the Lord of the Two Lands **[A]** *im.y-ib (n.y) nb=f r-tp r=f ; im.y-ib n.y nsw m s.t nb.t ; im.y-ib n.y ḥr m ʿḥ=f ; im.y-ib n.y /// ; im.y-ib i3w.t ʿḥ ; im.y-r i3w.t (nb.t) Šmʿ.w T3-mḥ.w ; ir.y-rd.wy nb=f ḥr pri hrw pn n.y sm3 Stt.yw ; ir.ty n.y nsw im.y-ḫt idb. wy ; ir.ty n.y nsw m sšm t3.wy m smn hpw idb.wy ; idn.w n.y nsw ; idn.w n.y nsw m s.t nb.t ; idn.w n.y nsw m t3 r-ḏr=f ; idn.w n.y ḥm=f ; idn.w n.y ḥm=f m t3 r-ḏr=f ; ʿ3 m sʿḥ ; ʿ3 n.y ʿ3.w ; ʿ3 r ʿ3.w ; ʿš3 sp.w m nbw n.w ḥs.wt ; wʿ ; wʿ [ḥr] ḫw=f ; wr wr.w ; wr wr.w n.w smr.w ; wr m i3.wt=f ; wr mr.wt ḥr nb=f ; wḥm.w r bi.ty m smr.w ; wḥm.w r bi.ty n šn.wt=f ; mnḫ /// ; ns shrr m t3 r ḏr=f ; rḫ nsw ḳd=f m ḥwn ; r shrr m t3 r ḏr=f ; ḥ3.ty n.y smr.w nsw ; ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y W3ḏ.ty ; ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y pr.w-nsw ; ḥr.y-tp ʿ3 n.y rḫy.t ; ḥr.y-tp m pr.w-dw3.t ; ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr ; sʿ3y [m nsw ///] ; sʿḥ smr.w ; smr [ʿ3?] n.y mr.wt ; smr wʿ.ty ; stp n.y nsw ẖn.ty t3.wy r ir(t) sḫr idb.wy ; sḏ3.wty-bi.ty ; sḏm sḏm.wt wʿ.wy ; t3y-ḫw ḥr wnm.y (n.y) nsw ; /// m3ʿ.t ; /// w m sw3ḥ rnp.wt ity ; /// n.y pr.w-nsw ; /// n.y mnḫ=f m-b3ḥ ; /// [n.y nb] t3.wy ; /// hp.w=f ḫt /// ; /// ḥm.w=f m ib=f ; /// ẖnt.y t3.wy r ir.t sḫr.wt rḫy.t* **[B]** *im.y-r im.yw-r n.w idb.wy ; im.y-r pr ; im.y-r pr wr ; im.y-r ḥḥ.w m p.t t3.w nb.w ; ḥr.y-tp m t3 r ḏr=f ; ḥr.y-tp n.y t3 r ḏr=f ; ẖn.ty t3.wy ; s3b ʿd-mr sp3.t ; /// Šmʿ.w T3-mḥ.w* **[C]** *im.y-r n.y im.yw-r sš.w nb.w n.w nsw ; ḥr.y-tp m pr-mḏ3.t ; sš nfr.w ; sš nsw ; sš nsw m3ʿ mr.y=f* **[D]** *[im.y-r] k3.t m Šmʿ.w T3-mḥ.w ; im.y-r k3.t n.t ḏw n.y bi3.t ; im.y-r k3.t nb.t ; im.y-r*	Tutankhamun– Horemheb

Tomb no. / Object inv. no.	Name	Titles	Date
		ḳ3.t nb.t n.t nsw ; im.y-r ḳ3.t nb.t n.t nsw m s.t nb ; im.y-r ḳ3.t nb.t n.t Šmꜥ.w T3-mḥ.w ; [mḥ]-ib n.y nsw m mn.w ; mḥ-ib n.y nsw m mn.w nb ; mḥ-ib n.y nsw m smnḫ mn.w=f ; ḥr.y-tp m sḫ ḥmw.w [E] im.y-r i3.wt nb.t nṯr.t ; im.y-r pr.w n.y Ỉmn-Rꜥ ; im.y-r ḥm.w-nṯr n.w ḥr nb Sby [F] im.y-r im.yw-r mšꜥ nb t3.wy ; im.y-r mšꜥ n.y nb t3.wy ; im.y-r mšꜥ wr ; im.y-r mšꜥ wr n.y nb t3.wy ; im.y-r mšꜥ wr n.y nsw ; im.y-r nfr.w n.w nb t3.wy ; wpw.ty nsw ; wpw.ty nsw r-ḫ3.t mšꜥ=f r ḫ3s.t rsy.t mḥ.ty ; ḥr.y-tp mnf3.t nb.t ir.yw ḥn.t r rw.ty ꜥḥ ; ḥsb mnf3.t ; šms.w nsw r nmt.t=f ḥr ḫ3s.t rsy.t mḥ.ty	
EES/Leiden mission 1993	Iniuia	Chief steward in Memphis [A] *ir.y-pꜥ.t ḥ3.ty-ꜥ ; mr.y [n.y] nb t3.wy ; sd3.wty-bi.ty* [B] *im.y-r iḥ.w n.w Ỉmn ; im.y-r pr ; im.y-r pr wr ; im.y-r pr m/n.y Mn-nfr* [C] *sš pr-ḥḏ n.y ḥḏ-nbw n.y nb t3.wy ; sš nsw ; sš nsw m3ꜥ ; sš nsw m3ꜥ mr.y=f* [E] *sšm.w-ḥb n.y nb m3ꜥ.t*	Akhenaten, late–Tutankhamun
Leiden mission 2013	Ry	Chief of Bowmen and Overseer of Horses [A] *ir.y-pꜥ.t ḥ3.ty-ꜥ ; ḫtm.ty-bi.ty ; smr-wꜥ.ty ; ḥs.y ꜥ3 [n.y] nṯr nfr ; mrr(.ty) (n.y) nb t3.wy ḥr bi3.t=f* [C] *[sš nsw] m3ꜥ mr(.y)=f* [E] *ḥr.y-pḏ.t ; im.y-r ssm.(w)t ; s3b n(.y) mnfy(.t)*	Tutankhamun
Lepsius LS 28; EES/Leiden mission 1994	Pay	Overseer of the royal household at Memphis [A] *ir.y-pꜥ.t ḥ3.ty-ꜥ ; smr wꜥ.ty ; sd3.wty-bi.ty* [B] *im.y-r ip.t-nsw m grg-W3s.t ; im.y-r ip.t nsw n.t Mn-nfr ; im.y-r ip.t nsw (n.t nb t3.wy) ; im.y-r ip.t nsw n.t t3 ḥm.t-nsw ; im.y-r iḥ.w (n.w Ỉmn-Rꜥ) ; im.y-r pr n.y nsw ; im.y-r nfr.w n.w nb t3.wy* [C] *sš nsw (m3ꜥ mr.y=f)* [D] *im.y-r ḳ3.t n.y mn.w nb n.y ḥm=f*	Tutankhamun
EES/Leiden mission 1986	Ramose	Deputy of the army [A] *nfr bi.t ; ḥs.y n.y nsw ḥr bi.t=f nfr.t ; ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr ; gr m3ꜥ* [C] *sš nsw ; sš nsw m3ꜥ mr.y=f* [E] *ḥm-nṯr* [F] *idn.w n.y p3 mšꜥ ; ḥr.y pḏ.t n.y p3 mšꜥ ; ḥr.y pḏ.t n.y nb t3.wy*	Tutankhamun–Horemheb
Lepsius LS 27; EES/Leiden mission 1986	Maya	Overseer of the Treasury [A] *im.y-ib n.y [nsw] ; im.y-ib ḥr m pr=f ; [iri m] rr(.w) ḥm=f ; iri.n nb t3.wy ḳ3=f ; iri [s]ḥrr n.y nb t3.wy ; ir.y-pꜥ.t ḥ3.ty-ꜥ ; ir.ty n.y nsw /// ; ꜥ3 m pr nsw ; [ꜥ3] m ḥsw [m Stp]-s3 ꜥnḥ.w wḏ3.w snb.w ; ꜥḳ.w r ꜥḥ r3=f ḥr m3ꜥ.t r sgrḥ t3.wy n nb=f ; wꜥ mnḫ ib n.y ity ; wr m i3.t=f ; [wr?] mr.wt m-b3ḥ ḥm=f ; wr m-ḫ3.t rḫy.t ; wḥm.w n.y bi.ty ; pr /// ; mn ḥsw m Stp-s3 ꜥnḥ wḏ3 snb ; [mnḫ sḥr.w]=f ḥr ib [nsw] ; mnḫ=f [n ib nb]=f ; [mr.y nb t3.wy] ḥr sḥr.w[=f] ; mr.y [n.y] nb t3.wy ; mrw/mrr n(.y) nb t3.wy ḥr bit=f ; mḥ-ib [n.y nsw] ; mḥ-ib 1r [m] ꜥḥ ; msw=f ḥr.y-tp rḫy.t ; r n.y nsw ; r [n.y nsw (?)] ... ḏd].tw.n=f imnw ; r ḥm[=f] ; r sḥrr m t3 r ḏr=f ; ḥr tw ḥr ir.n=f nb ; ḥr.y-sḥr.w[=f] 3ḫ ḥr [ib]=f ; ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y pr-nsw ; ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr ; ḫtm nb n.y nsw ḥr ḏbꜥ.wt=f ; s3w n.y bi.ty ; smi /// ; smr wꜥ.ty ; s3 n.y nsw ; [srwḫ?]=f nb t3.wy ir ḏf3=f ;*	Tutankhamun–Horemheb

Tomb no. / Object inv. no.	Name	Titles	Date
		sḫnt iȝ.wt ; sḫnt n.y bi.ty ; sdȝ.wty-bi.ty ; šsȝ wn-ḥr m kȝ.t nb.t ; tm mḥy(.w) ḥr rdy(.t) m ḥr=f ; tȝy-ḫw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw ; ts tȝ sḥr.w[=f] ; /// ikr n nb=f ; /// wrw(?) ; /// n.y pr-nsw ; /// n(.y) nb=f ; /// ḥr sp /// **[B]** im.y-r pr ; im.y-r pr-ḥd ; im.y-r pr-ḥd n.y nb tȝ.wy ; im.y-r pr-ḥd n.y ḥd-nbw ; im.y-r pr.wy nbw ; im.y-r pr.wy nbw ḥd ; im.y-r pr.wy-ḥd ; [im.y-r pr].wy ḥd-nbw ; ḥr.y-tp n.y tȝ r-ḏr=f ; ḫrp idb.wy **[C]** sš nsw ; sš nsw mȝꜥ ; sš nsw mȝꜥ mr.y=f **[D]** im.y-r ḥmw.w nb.w n.w nsw ; im.y-r kȝ.t m S.t-nḥḥ ; im.y-r kȝ.t [m] mn.w [nb n.y ḥm]=f ; im.y-r kȝ.t nb.t [m] S.t-r-nḥḥ ; im.y-r kȝ.t nb.t n.t nsw ; sȝb ꜥd-mr **[E]** wꜥb ꜥ.wwy iy nṯr <r> ḥtp ḥr /// ; wꜥb ꜥ.wy ḥr [kȝp] snṯr ; ḥr.y-sštȝ pr.w nbw m r-pr.w nṯr.w nb.w ; sšm.w-ḥb ; sšm.w-ḥb n.y Imn ; [sšm.w-]ḥb n.y Imn [m Ip.t-rsy.t?] ; sšm.w-ḥb n.y [nb] nṯr.w	

TABLE 5   Amarna and post-Amarna Eighteenth Dynasty freestanding tomb chapels in the Unas South Cemetery

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